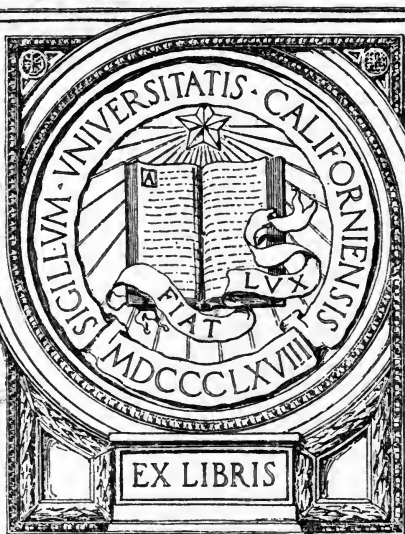


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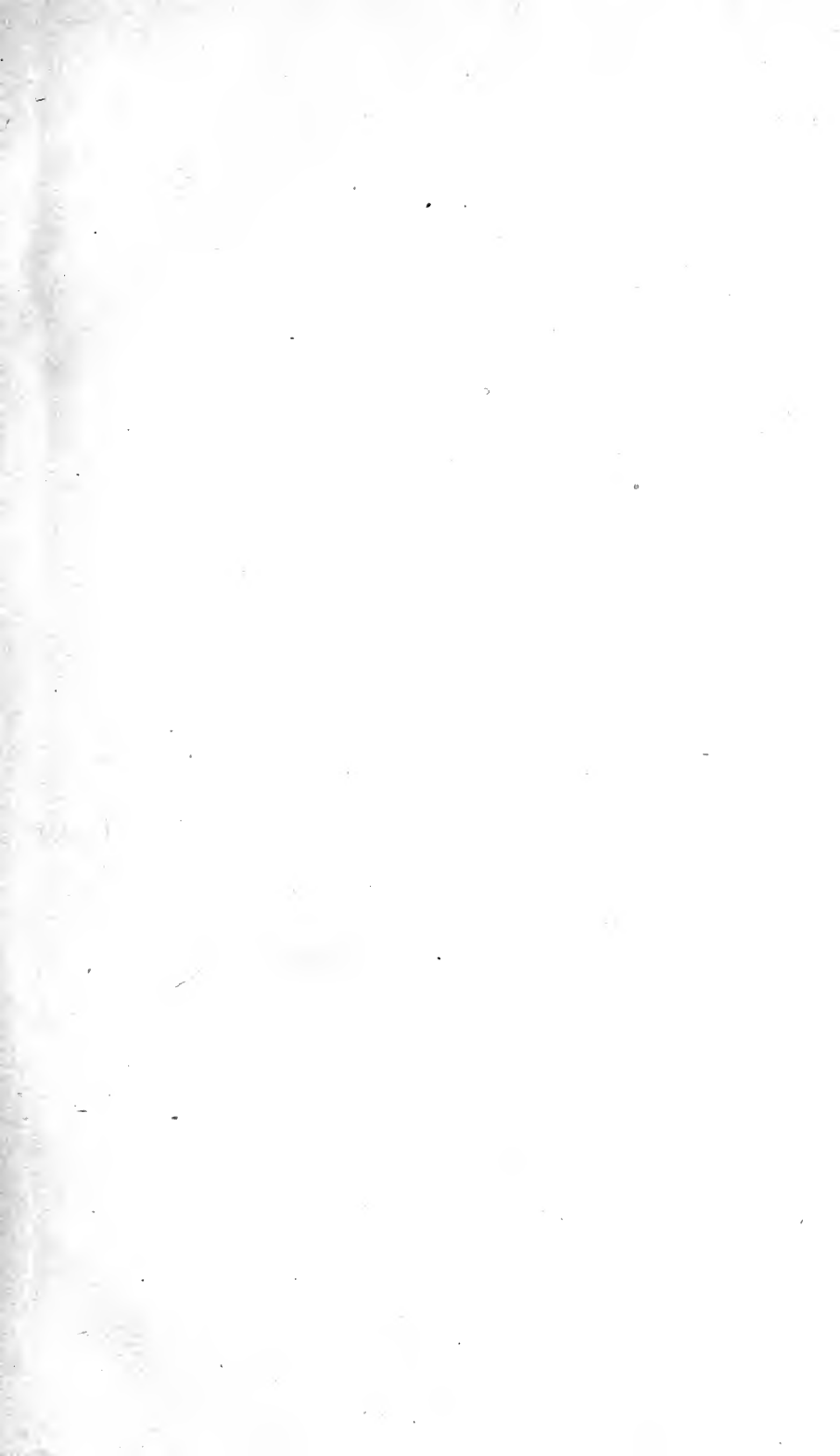


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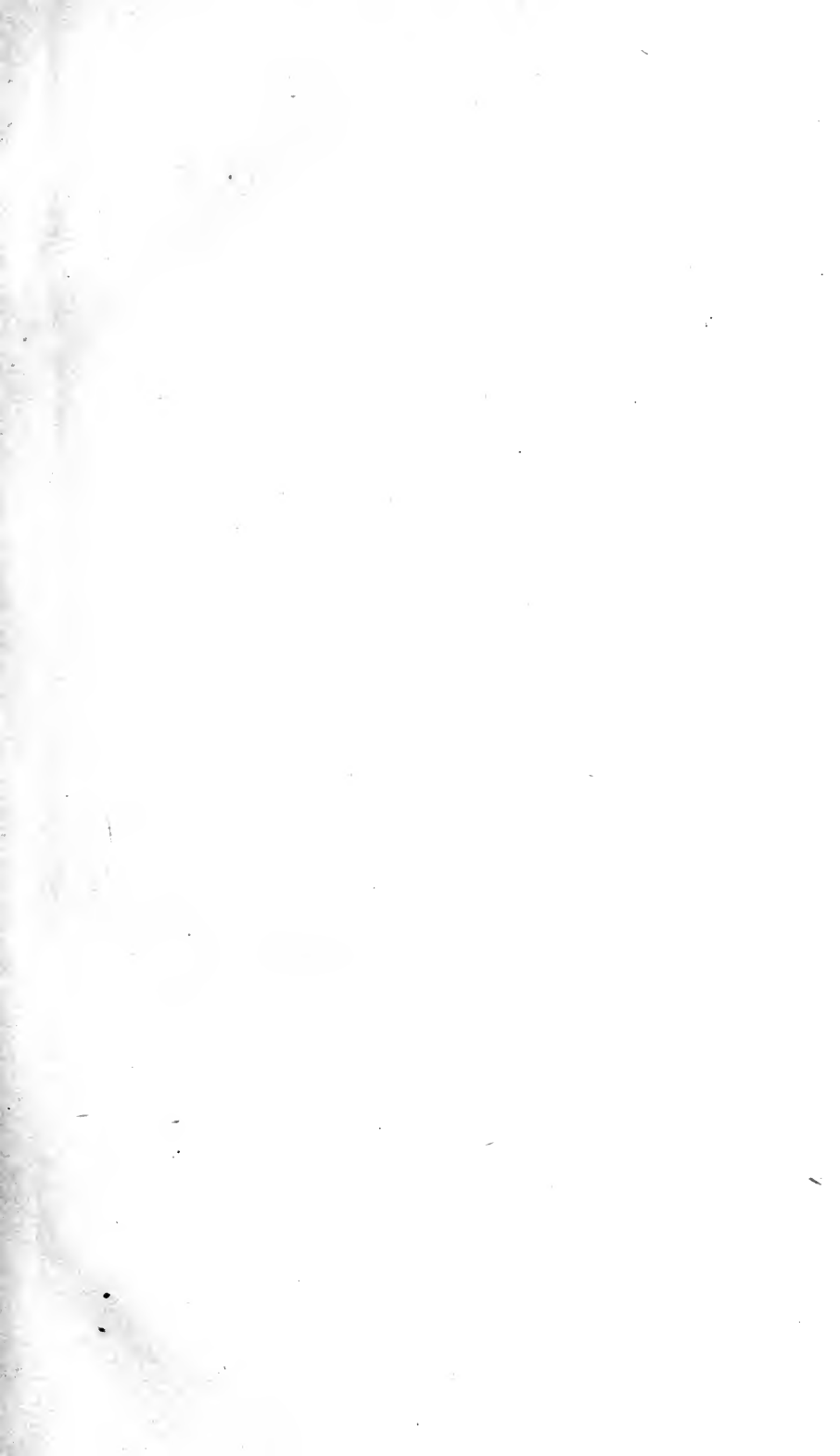
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A HOOSIER VILLAGE

A Sociological Study

With Special Reference to Social Causation

BY

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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NO. 1000
AMERICAN

TO
MY FATHER AND MOTHER
IN GRATITUDE AND LOVE

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INTRODUCTION

THREE years ago the writer began a study of the Hoosier village which for many years had been his home. With an appreciation of the value of field work for the science of sociology, and a belief that this community had something to contribute, the work was undertaken. Some early results of the investigation were submitted to the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Spring of 1910. In the pursuit of this work it became evident that some of the phenomena of the village were rather unusual, and this led to a recanvass of the whole field in a more careful and more exhaustive manner. The results of that effort are presented in the following chapters.

The plan of the work is simple. It is divided into two parts. The first part is largely historical and descriptive, aiming to set forth the social developments of the community, while in some instances attempting to analyze the forces that have been at work to produce them. In the second part certain phenomena that are somewhat unique are taken up in an effort to determine the causes that have brought them about. In this it must be frankly admitted that there are causative forces here present that are universal in society and whose operation is taken for granted. These, of course, are tacitly recognized, but they lie beyond the limits set for this study. It is only to the unique phenomena of the community that attention is directed in an endeavor to find the local and particular forces that are

their proximate causes. In addition to this some attention is given to a few general problems upon which light seems to be shed from the study. The whole is presented with the hope that it may contain some little contribution to sociological knowledge.

The identity of the place is concealed by withholding names connected therewith. For convenience, therefore, the village will be designated as Aton, while other communities in the vicinity will be referred to as Bton, Cton, and Dton.

Facts have been strictly adhered to, without conscious bias. While it is hardly likely that the people of Aton themselves would see everything in the same light as has the writer, his motive has been a real desire to present truthfully the life of the community from the standpoint of sociology. Above all let it be remembered that there is that deep interest in "mine own people", and the ties that bind one to his birth place, that would forbid misrepresentation.

The sources for the study of Aton have been records of various sorts, personal testimony, and individual characters who reflect in a typical way certain phases of the community life. The most important written sources may be thus enumerated:

1. Local County and Town Atlas published in 1898, and also the official plot of the village to 1910.
2. History of S—— County, including that of Aton up to 1885, the year of publication.
3. Pioneer Records published in 1878-1880.
4. *Indiana State Geological Survey* reports published 1870.
5. U. S. Census returns for various years for Aton and S—— County. Reports of U. S. Department of Agriculture for S—— County.
6. Assessor's Books for Aton for various years since 1848. Tax Duplicates for same period.

7. Partial records of the circuit court since 1838. Justice's court records in part since 1848. Mayor's court records since 1906. *History of the Regulators of Northern Indiana*.
8. Complete files of *The Republican*, a weekly paper, since 1860. Files of *The Aton Herald*, a weekly paper, complete since 1880.
9. Election reports for Town and County since 1844. Local election reports for Aton since 1891. Republican and Democratic Poll Books. Minutes of Town Board meetings. Report of The Reform Committee of 1897.
10. War Record of S—— County, published in 1889.
11. Records of the Public Schools in part. Records of Aton College. School Enumerations for a number of years.
12. Records of the Methodist Episcopal, Disciples, Congregational, and the United Brethren churches. Conference minutes of the M. E. and the U. B. churches. The Year Books of the Congregational church since 1869. Local History of the Disciples of Aton. Sunday School Reports for the various churches covering much of their history.
13. Lodge records and histories. Minutes of various church and social organizations.

In addition to the above mentioned sources a questionnaire on the subject of religion was addressed to all living pastors and evangelists who had ever labored in Aton. Much valuable information was received from this source. In most instances it was furnished from private records and diaries.

The testimony of individuals has been extensively taken, particularly regarding the first and second periods of the village history. Usually the most satisfactory method has

been a casual conversation rather than a direct interview relative to the subject under investigation. A member of the first family to settle in Aton, though ninety years of age, remains a competent witness, and has given invaluable information. Many others who have lived in the village since in the forties have furnished much data regarding the developments of the community on all sides.

In conclusion, acknowledgments are gratefully made, first of all, to Professor Franklin H. Giddings, to whose tuition I owe a dynamic state of mind rather than a static one, and from whose inspiration has come the deep interest in the science of sociology which led to this study; in the second place, to Dr. Alvan A. Tenney for numerous suggestions regarding this work; in the third place, to the many people of Aton who have rendered assistance in carrying on the study, and finally, to Miss Florence A. McNutt, of the University of Cincinnati, for much invaluable aid in the final preparation of the work.

PART I

THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ATON

SECTION I. THE SOCIAL POPULATION

CHAPTER I

THE PLACE, ITS SITUATION AND ENVIRONMENT

ATON is a village in the extreme northeastern corner of Indiana. It lies near the parallel running through Chicago and Toledo, about three-fifths of the distance eastward from the former place.

The region in which this town is situated is known as the interlobate morainic region of Indiana. Its topography is unusually interesting. The surface is generally rolling and often very rough. Hills, marshes and lakes in constant succession everywhere abound. The hills sometimes rise to an altitude of twelve hundred feet. The lake basins are the counterparts of the hills and knobs among which they lie, and may be regarded as huge kettle-holes with clay bottoms. Within the area of the county where Aton is located there are more than one hundred such lakes which have names upon the map, an average of one to every three square miles.

Probably no similar area possesses such a variety of lakes, or so many of the largest and finest of the kind—more than thirty of them exceed half a mile in diameter. They are all intra-morainic lakes, and, owing their origin to the irregular deposits of drift . . . , they present in miniature all the characteristic features of mountain lakes. The highest peaks of the moraines look down upon them, and often their shores rise very abruptly

on all sides. . . . Bold promontories, sequestered coves, and precipitous bluffs often give them an almost Alpine character.¹

In the heart of this picturesque country and on the shore of one of its lakes is Aton. Within the confines of the town are five distinct lobes. The public square and business center occupy one hill-top. To the north and east of this elevation the surface is gently sloping. To the south and west it rises into four irregular lobes. The extreme length of the town north and south is one and six-tenths miles, while its length east and west is one and a quarter miles. Its total area is about twelve hundred acres. Its altitude is 1,052 feet.

✓ The water supply of the locality is abundant. One-seventh of the area of the township in which Aton lies is covered with water. Copious springs are of frequent occurrence. Wells are driven from twenty to two hundred feet. The town is supplied from wells sunk to the depth of ninety feet. The quality of the water is excellent. With the exception of some iron, mineral elements are wanting in it. Swamps and marshes are numerous. Fifty years ago the site of Aton was full of ponds where wild duck might frequently be seen. In those days this region was often shunned by pioneers on account of its dampness. Ague and malaria attacked the settlers until at times the whole population was stricken with "chills and fever". The drainage facilities, however, were of the best, and in the course of time good use was made of them for improving sanitary conditions and redeeming waste lands.

✓ The soil is very diversified. It is glacial drift, belonging to the quaternary geological period. It lies many hundreds of feet in depth upon the subjacent "old red sandstone" or Devonian rock. This rock nowhere outcrops, neither has it been reached in drillings.

¹ *Indiana State Geological Survey.*

Among the materials composing the morainic drift, clay largely predominates, usually mixed with a liberal supply of gravel, and not unfrequently contains fifty per cent of ground limestone. Over and under the clay are immense beds, sheets and ridges of sand and gravel, and scattered over and through the whole with little partiality a variety of boulders as thick as plums in a pudding.¹

These boulders, commonly known as "nigger-heads", in many places, render cultivation very difficult. In addition to this drift are extensive deposits of vegetable mould or muck of recent formation.

The climate is changeable. The seasons are of uncertain duration and quality. The summers are apt to be either too wet or too dry, and the winters either too severe or too open for the most successful agriculture. However, the great variety of soils somewhat counterbalances this condition and serves generally to equalize production one year with another. Frost must be counted on for eight months of the year, from September to April. The mean temperature is about fifty-two degrees, that of summer being about seventy-six degrees and that of winter near thirty-one degrees. The extremes range from thirty degrees below zero to one hundred and six degrees above Fahrenheit. The average rain-fall is thirty-eight and eighty-two hundredths inches. The snow-fall is generally heavy. Sleighing has sometimes lasted from December the first to March. High winds and gales approaching tornadoes occur now and then. Severe electric storms are common in spring and summer. On the whole, the climate is only moderately salubrious. Its many and severe changes, especially during the winter season, are decidedly unhealthful.

The natural resources of the region in which Aton is

¹ *Indiana State Geological Survey.*

located are few. There are no known mineral deposits. There are many lakes and streams, yet they afford no reliable water-power. Heavy forests of the finest hardwoods originally covered the land and afforded resources for timber industries until exhausted. Beyond these the district is adapted only to farming and grazing. With a rough surface and much waste land, it does not offer the best agricultural advantages, and consequently is not able to sustain a large population.

Such are the environmental conditions surrounding Aton. Of the district described it is the center and metropolis, and within this territory there are no rivals. In a radius of twenty miles there are a number of villages and small communities, of which only four approximate one-third the size of Aton. The nearest of these, Bton, is nine miles distant. In earlier days, it is said, there was some rivalry between Aton and Bton, but that rivalry has long since ceased to exist.

CHAPTER II

AGGREGATION

I. Formation. In the fourth decade of the past century immigration into Northern Indiana began. That and the two succeeding decades are known as the pioneer period. The opening of new lands brought settlers from New England and the Middle Atlantic states. In 1833 two families from Western New York came into this region, and, after shifting about, finally made a permanent settlement on the site of Aton in the year 1836. Entering jointly about two sections, which were purchased of the government at "ten shillings per acre", they built them cabins and proceeded to lay out a village site. They had chosen an isolated spot in the heart of an unbroken wilderness through which were scattered only now and then a few white families.

The immediate occasion of the founding of Aton was a religious one. The settlers were Spiritualists, and on this account had been refused admittance to other settlements where they sought to locate.

In 1837 one of the men of Aton represented the district in the Indiana Legislature; and succeeded in securing a measure providing for the organization of a separate county in the northeastern corner of the state. When the question of the location of the county seat arose, the geographical center, which fell at a village several miles south of Aton, seemed the proper place. This settlement, moreover, offered the state sixteen thousand dollars for the seat; but Aton was determined to have the prize herself. Not only did the founders of Aton offer the state a court-house site

and money for erecting the same, but they resorted to a shrewd trick to worst their rival. The Aton legislator had the southern tier of townships detached from the new county and added to the one adjoining on the south. This caused the center of the new county to fall near Aton. By further false representations that there was abundant water-power at the place, and splendid facilities in other ways for developing a town, the Legislative Committee was finally induced to place the county seat at Aton.

The town was plotted April 5th, 1838, and given its present name. There were thirty-six acres in the site, divided equally between Messrs. G and G, the founders. A log jail was built in 1839, and in 1841 a frame court house costing about two thousand dollars. A post-office was established in 1838. Thus began the village of Aton which, growing, became an incorporated town October 1st, 1866, and a chartered city in April, 1906.

As seen from the above facts the location of the community of Aton was largely an arbitrary matter. Aside from its being made the geographical center of the county, there were no good reasons why a town should be built at this place. On the contrary, there were many reasons against it. The region was rough, wet and inaccessible. There was no railroad within a hundred miles; and the wagon roads were but Indian trails through the forests. But the seat of government once secured made it a permanent community and the center toward which various activities inevitably trended.

2. Growth. Into Aton and vicinity pioneers from the East continued to come. The greater part of them came from the western counties of New York. A study of the pioneer records shows that about seventy per cent of the settlers before 1860 were from Monroe, Yates, Wayne, Seneca, Orleans, Livingston, Genesee, Onondaga, Ontario,

Cayuga, and Oneida counties. By consulting the map it will be seen that these counties form the lake region of Western New York. Aton was also located in a lake region that bore a striking similarity to this in topography, timber growth and soil. These facts struck the emigrants, and determined their choice of location.

Aton grew slowly till 1869, when the arrival of a railroad gave an incipient boom. The newcomers now consisted chiefly of the same stock as the first settlers, together with a few Irish. Table I exhibits the growth in population as shown by the U. S. census reports. There are at present (1910) approximately seven hundred and twelve families composing the group, with an average of 3.66 persons to the family.

TABLE I
POPULATION OF ATON BY DECADES

Year	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Number	166	266	750	1,072	1,280	1,644	2,140	2,610

There have been three distinct periods in the growth of the village. In each somewhat different forces have dominated. In the first, from 1836 to 1869, agriculture was chief; in the second, from 1869 to 1885, commercial interests; in the third, from 1885 to the present, educational activities. In 1906 there was promise of a fourth period of development stimulated by industrial factors, but it failed to materialize.

3. Composition. In 1840 the demotic composition of Aton, as revealed by the family names, was made up of three elements, which were as follows: English, 90 per cent; Scotch-Irish, 8 per cent, and Dutch, 2 per cent. Since

that date up to the present census report no accurate data are to be had on this question. However, from the evidence available it is apparent that at no time has there been any wide divergence from this composition. At the present time the group is made up of nine ethnic elements. They are English, French, German, Irish, Italian, Jews, Negroes, Scotch and Spanish. Approximately the percents of each are given in Table II.

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF ETHNIC ELEMENTS

English.	German.	Scotch-Irish.	French.	Italian.	Jews.	Negroes.	Spanish.
72.80%	16.%	10.%	.08%	.15%	.25%	.53%	.19%

Inasmuch as this calculation is based chiefly on family names, it can be only approximately accurate. Through intermarriage the amalgamation of the first four nationalities has long been so complete that the significance of names is largely lost. In the case of the remaining five elements the figures are correct, being based on the absolute number of individuals under each category.

On the returns of the Thirteenth Census the percents of first generation foreigners are given in Table III.

TABLE III
PERCENTAGE OF FIRST GENERATION FOREIGNERS

English.	German.	Canadian.	Irish.	Italian.	French.	Spanish.	Scotch.
.38%	.72%	.34%	.19%	.15%	.08%	.19%	.12%

From this it follows that 97.83 per cent of the population of Aton is native born. In addition to this the last census gives 8.4 per cent of the population as native born of for-

eign parentage. It is thus seen that 89.43 per cent of the people of the village are native stock of two or more generations. It is further revealed that 98.80 per cent of the people are of Celto-Teutonic stock, which readily mixes and forms a homogeneous group.

There are no data extant bearing directly on the problem of genetic aggregation. It may be approached indirectly, however. A calculation based on the school enumeration of Aton for the present year throws some light on the subject. While this enumeration includes only those between the ages of six and twenty-one years, yet from careful observation it is believed that the deductions made therefrom are not far from correct for the whole group. Of all inhabitants of this class 42.6 per cent were born in the town; 29.4 per cent in the county; 18.2 per cent in the territory immediately adjacent; 6.1 per cent in Ohio, Michigan and Indiana; and 3.7 per cent in remoter states. None were of foreign birth. From this it would appear that 42.6 per cent were of the genetic group. When these are added to those of the county and the immediately adjacent territory, there would result 90.2 per cent of the population whose degree of propinquity would be in general close. The last census in giving the birth place of the population goes to confirm the above conclusions. It shows 64.59 per cent of the native-born population of Aton were born in Indiana; 20.75 per cent in Ohio; 5.84 per cent in Michigan, and 8.82 per cent in remoter states. This gives 91.18 per cent from the three states. Through an extensive acquaintance with the people it is known that not far from 90 per cent of them came from a territory within a radius of twenty miles of the village and of a population homogeneous with that of Aton.

The sex classification of the population is given in Table IV.

TABLE IV
POPULATION ACCORDING TO SEX

		Male.	Female.
Total population	2,610	1,218	1,392
Native white of native parents.....	2,320	1,079	1,241
Native white of foreign parents	219	93	126
Foreign white	57	35	22
Negro	14	11	3

SECTION II. THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

1. Periods of Development. The economic activities of Aton have grown slowly, and have not become extensive. With the three periods of growth already defined the economic development coincides. In the first, which lasted till 1869, the business and industrial enterprises of the village were only such as were necessary to meet the simple demands of a new agricultural region under process of being reclaimed from the wilderness. Without shipping facilities the village was primarily a local trading center and distributing point. By consulting Table V it will be seen that there were a number of industries, such as wagon and black-smith shops, tanneries, cabinet works, saw and planing mills, a grist mill, a foundry, and a woolen mill. These were small individual enterprises that had arisen to meet a purely local demand. The figures in the table relate to the number of such individual enterprises as existed in the town in the years indicated.

The first real economic awakening of the community was brought about by the coming of the railroad in 1869. A subsidy of \$75,000 was raised in the village to secure the road. Apropos of the situation *The Republican* said:

We can reasonably expect that a few years will put our town in the ranks with the most beautiful and prosperous in the State. . . . Every means must be used to induce the manu-

TABLE V
BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY IN ATON

Year	1840	1845	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910
<i>Mercantile.</i>															
General merchandise.....	1	3	3	3	3	4	8	10	5	5	6	6	4	4	3
Other firms	2	2	6	11	11	15	24	31	35	36	41	45	40	38
Department stores.....	2	2	3
Wholesale.....	1	..
<i>Industries.</i>															
Wagon shops	1	1	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Cabinet sh-ops.....	..	2	..	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Harness shops	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Tin shops	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Paint shops	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Marble shops	1	1	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Cooper shops	1	2	2	2
Plumbing shops.....	1	1	1	2	1	1	..	2	2	1	1	1
Planing-mill	1	1	1	3	1	..	..	2	2	1	1	1
Saw mill.....	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
Grist mill.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
Tannery	1	2	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Blacksmith	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	4	4	6
Gunsmith	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Creamery	1	..	..	..	..
Poultry picking	1	1	1	2
Woolen mill.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..
Grain elevator.....	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	3	1
Lumber	1	2	2	3	3	2
Coal.....	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Foundry	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE V—*Concluded*

Year	1840	1845	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910
<i>Industries—Concluded.</i>															
Tailor shops	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	2
Ice	1	1	2	2	1
Garage	2	2
Machine shop	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Factories.</i>															
Barrel	1	2	2	2	2	1	1
Gasoline engine	1	1	1
Cigar	1	1	..	..	1	1	2
Tile-brick	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Furnace	1	..	..	..	..
Casket	1	1	1	1
Auto-guards	1
Handle	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Bel-spring	1	1	..	..
Canning	1	..	..	..	..	..
Ice cream	1	1
<i>Other Enterprises.</i>															
Bank	1	..	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3
Newspapers	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	2
Hotels	..	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
Restaurants	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	3	4	3	2
Livery and feed	1	1	2	2	2	3	4	4	5	5	4	4
Bakery	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3
Photographs	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	2
Laundry	1	1	1	1	1	1
Florist	1	1	1	1

facturer, the merchant, men of science, mechanics, and good industrious people of all classes and nationalities to settle among us.

Another item ran:

Fifty new houses are needed . . . they will be good investments. Aton, if the proper enterprise is shown, is bound to prosper. . . . Our people can help to bring this about by cleaning up the streets, fixing up sidewalks and cutting down weeds.

Throughout 1869 and 1870 the columns of *The Republican* abound in articles booming the town. By 1870 the paper had doubled its size in response to the increased activities of the village. That year twelve business blocks, thirty-eight dwellings and two churches were erected. These with other improvements amounted to \$97,000. *The Republican* urged that an effort be made to secure timber mills and woolen factories, but the suggestion was not acted upon by the community. Throughout the succeeding year developments continued. Twenty new residences were built, among them the first brick houses; streets were graded and sidewalks laid to such an extent that a local item ran: "An astonishing amount of improvement is going on." The expansion of the town and the sanguine outlook of property owners is reflected in the additions to the town plot exhibited in Table VI. Between 1869 and 1873 there were made eleven additions, comprising some six hundred lots. Prices of real estate were doubled; and the paper sounds a warning against asking too much. Until 1874 Aton continued to be "a live town"; then came a slump. Reviewing the situation, *The Republican* said:

No other town in northern Indiana has made as much progress within the past four years in wealth, population and permanent

improvements as Aton. . . . Before the railroad, our village was dormant. . . . The goods sold here and all materials used were hauled by teams from C—— over twenty-five miles of bad roads. . . . As soon as the road was a "certainty" everything put on new life; the citizens took hold of the enterprise, and the town stands to-day a monument to their activity and energy. . . . We need, though, in the way of manufactures to make our town what it should be, a manufacturer of Cheese, Staves and Barrels, Furniture, Chairs, Hub and Spoke, and woolen factories. . . . Our capitalists are land-owners and their money is locked up in lands, but as soon as responsible men with available means settle here and purchase these lands, the proceeds will be expended in assisting in these enterprises.

These suggestions were very sane ones; for there were abundant resources to sustain some of these industries had they been started. Had she utilized her opportunities, Aton might have become an industrial center of considerable size. The villagers were wanting in initiative and business ability, however. They were petty traders and farmers acquainted only with an agricultural and domestic economy. Inexperienced, except in the art of exploiting the natural resources in a crude way and distributing merchandise, they neither knew how to promote industries themselves nor how to induce others to enter the field. They made a real co-operative effort, poorly planned and impulsive though it was, to build up their town, but little came of it. *The Republican* lamented the failures of a number of projects. The boom "busted" and the village became dormant again. After the slump had come, an editorial on "How to Kill our Town" was written; and it reveals the general type of economic reaction prevalent in the village. It ran:

1. Demand three times the value for what you have.
2. In-

sult and quarrel with every newcomer, and give the cold shoulder to every mechanic who comes. 3. Refuse to advertise, so that none at a distance will know that any business is being done here.

Although Aton's boom passed, the town remained a substantial business center. It was the only market and shipping point for an extensive territory. Toward the end of the period under consideration some outside capital came in, and in a small way developed timber industries. The cooper shops and barrel factories became the leading industries and so continued until the timber supply was exhausted. The environment operated to further these enterprises, not only by its timber supply, but by a local demand for apple barrels. As is was a high and rough country, in many parts, apple orchards flourished, and became profitable at the beginning of this period. After the orchards failed, barrel manufacturing continued in response to foreign markets. Much swamp land created a demand for tile, and its manufacture began in Aton. This has developed into the largest industry up to the present with an annual output valued at about \$20,000. A woolen mill also did a thriving business throughout this period.

The chief products of the region at this time were timber, wool, apples, wheat and live stock. To-day the timber is exhausted and apples are no longer produced. Live stock, wool, grain and hay have become the staples. In the meantime Aton as a market has changed. Other railroads have tapped the region and developed new shipping points. As one merchant said: "Our streets used to be crowded with loads of wool and apples, but now we don't see them any more." A comparison of freight shipments shows not only a change in kind, but also a change in quantity. In 1880 the total exports exceeded 16,000,000 pounds, while in 1908 they were but 13,000,000 pounds. The latter year

shows a preponderance of manufactured stuff, poultry products, live stock, hay and straw. This decadence of Aton as a market is often the subject of comment, and has acted as an incentive to more wide-awake business methods in order to get the farmer's trade.

The third era of economic development began after 1885. The stimulating force was a college. This institution is generally regarded as the greatest single cause of prosperity. It is the common testimony that "Aton was a dead town before the college started". From the newspapers of that date, together with much individual testimony, it is gathered that buildings were out of repair, sidewalks decayed, and much neglect everywhere in evidence before the college opened. An item in *The Republican* of 1887 runs: "An era of improvement is on, caused by the college. The splendid new hotel is due wholly to this." New residences and sidewalks were built, and new business blocks were added. An electric lighting system was soon installed. In 1890 twenty-five new dwellings and five business blocks were put up; besides fourteen residences were remodeled. A steady increase of population from the surrounding country began. There was a general rise in values. All business received a lasting forward impetus. Other public improvements, such as water-works, miles of cement walks, and graveled streets reflected the economic prosperity. Over \$50,000 worth of building was done in 1899. One man did a great deal to help conditions. For a number of years he bought all residence property offered for sale. In all he acquired some fifty houses which were remodeled and rented. A demand for rooming houses made such investments profitable. The years in which additions were made to the town plot gives an epitome of its development in this period as well as before. This is given in Table VI.

TABLE VI
ADDITIONS TO THE TOWN PLOT

	First Period.	Second Period.	Third Period.
Year	1838 '45 '53 '54 '55 '56 '58	1869 '70 '71 '72 '73	1889 '91 '92 '99 1903 '04
Additions	1 1 2 1 1 1	1 2 4 2 3	1 1 1 1 2 1

The college has afforded a steady means of income for about fifteen per cent of the people, through boarding and rooming houses, besides being the source of enlarged activities in all lines of mercantile pursuits. At the lowest estimate an annual income of \$75,000, widely distributed, comes through this institution. In conjunction with the college the lakes as an economic force have come into prominence during the period. As a resorting place during the summer season they are the means of income to many. Not less than a quarter of a million of dollars is invested in cottages and equipments near Aton. In the last decade electric lines have been built to accommodate the lake traffic. The only industrial developments in this epoch were the poultry-packing establishment, and a small gasoline engine factory. The former does about \$15,000 worth of business per year; the latter industry is practically a failure.

A fourth period in the economic life of Aton appeared to be opening in 1906, when an east and west railroad was secured. *The Republican* waxed enthusiastic over the outlook in a prophecy that Aton would have 15,000 people within a few years. There was a united effort for commercial development at this time. With enthusiasm the citizens co-operated in raising a subsidy of \$50,000 for the railroad. Following this a crisis in the college made it imperative that an endowment of \$40,000 be given by the

town. Success in raising this led to the organization of "The Aton Commercial Club," for the purpose of "Aiding and encouraging the location and operation of manufacturing and other industrial enterprises in Aton." The club included the active business men of the town and many others besides, some three hundred and fifty in all. Its watchword was "Boost for Aton". Club rooms were fitted up and much advertising was done. *The Republican* said: "Hitherto much money has gone into investments away from home, but now let our people take stock in home enterprises, let them co-operate with the Commercial Club in the interest of the town's development." Great interest was manifested on every hand over the prospects; and when the club induced "a large refrigerator factory" to move its plant from a distant city to Aton, some five hundred citizens eagerly took \$70,000 of stock in the concern. It was to employ several hundred men. Large buildings were erected, and when the factory was ready to start it was dedicated with a "Big Booster Banquet" in which over six hundred citizens participated. But the concern did not run; something was wrong. The company was bankrupt, had played a "skin game" on Aton, and completely buncoed its citizens. The venture had utterly failed and with it the commercial club. All efforts to boost Aton industrially were abandoned. The new era had failed to materialize.

2. Incomes and Wages. Labor conditions in Aton are those belonging to an agricultural community. The limited industries have given employment to so few that the wage standards of a manufacturing town have not been reached. Little skilled labor is employed. The wages paid for this type of labor range from \$1.75 to \$3.00 per day of ten hours. The average unskilled employee gets from \$1.00 to \$1.50, rarely \$2.00 per day. The price of an ordinary

"day's work" averages about the same. Steady work is uncertain in any line. The tile and brick mills employ less than fifty men for the summer months only. The poultry-packing industry gives work to about one hundred women and children for three months in the fall. Its regular force consists of five or six men. As a result of these conditions, since the demand for work usually exceeds the opportunities, wages are not high. Carpenters and masons must seek work elsewhere a part of the year. Their wages are from \$2.50 to \$3.50 per day. Blacksmiths, harness makers, printers, cigarmakers, painters, barbers, and paper-hangers get \$2.00, rarely \$2.50. Men in clerkships get from \$8.00 to \$18.00 per week, but average about \$12.00; girls get from \$4.00 to \$8.00. Domestics get from \$3.00 to \$3.50 per week with board.

Labor unions were unknown until about two years ago when the blacksmiths formed a union. This was soon followed by the organization of the carpenters, and then of the painters and paper-hangers. One of the leaders gave as the reason for organizing that wages were too low and that the only way to fix a reasonable scale was by uniting. These efforts were generally looked upon with amusement or contempt. There was little sympathy with the idea even on the part of other workingmen. These efforts at organization were more the outcome of the general industrial awakening over the prospects of large factories than of a real unrest of the laborers. The unions were short-lived. Through the inability of their members to agree among themselves all disbanded in a few months.

Salaries are not large in Aton. The highest are those of the county officials, which range from \$1,100 to \$3,800 per annum. Those offices are looked upon as "gold mines" by the average citizen. Aside from these the salaries and incomes of professional men are the highest, and in but few

cases do they exceed \$1,200. Two ministers get \$1,500 each. Teachers average about sixty dollars per month. Approximately 90 per cent of the men of the town have incomes ranging anywhere from \$400 to \$1,000 per annum. Included in this number are about one hundred retired farmers whose returns from their farms will not average more than six hundred dollars yearly.

3. Wealth, its Distribution, and the Standard of Living. The pioneer period was one of little wealth. More than ninety per cent of the population had little or nothing. However, this was a period of greater relative disparity of wealth than any since for the founders of the town were relatively rich. Jointly they owned nearly twelve hundred acres of land. Individually one owned in addition over sixteen hundred acres. Though this land represented but little capital, the owners lived in better homes and in far more comfortable circumstances than their neighbors. While with the majority money was scarce, dire poverty was also rare, since plenty of food was available. The woods were full of game; the lakes and streams were teeming with fish; wild fruits were abundant in season, and produce was cheap as there was no market for it. There was a gradual increase of prosperity up to the Civil War, when more favorable conditions enabled many to become fairly prosperous.

The total wealth of the community can be estimated from the assessed valuation of property which is given in Table VII. It will be noted that the valuation of property was much greater in 1873 than for many years succeeding. This was due to the boom that opened the second period, which caused a great inflation of values. After the passing of this, valuations fell to a normal condition. In the third period, under the stimulus of the college, another rise is seen with a steady increase up to the present.

TABLE VII
VALUATION OF PROPERTY

Year.	Amount.
1848	\$21,997
1856	145,129
1862	91,433
1873	727,958
1876	481,320
1880	393,385
1882	370,000
1889	433,890
1890	445,200
1895	832,700
1900	1,030,680
1905	1,156,267
1909	1,225,050
1910	1,263,905

Table VIII has been compiled from the assessor's books to show the distribution of this wealth. It appears that with the increase in the total amount of wealth there has been a gradual increase in the extremes of the inequality of distribution. It is evident, however, that about 97 per cent of the assessments were for \$5,000 or less. Such disparity as is here manifest probably has little significance so far as the social relations of the people are concerned. The few wealthier citizens have very small fortunes. By careful count 68.8 per cent own their homes, while 31.2 per cent are renters. The per cent of renters is relatively large, more because of the college constituents than through the inability of the population to own property. There is little real poverty. The amount of delinquent tax reported each year somewhat reflects the amount of poverty. Table IX shows this for a number of years.

The standard of living is pretty much the same throughout the entire group. A great similarity in the manner of furnishing the homes is an evidence of this. Modest comfort is the general desire. Extravagance is unknown, and simple living prevails. The majority want to save a "little

TABLE VIII
DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Year.	Less than \$1,000.		\$1,000 and Less than \$2,000.		\$2,000 and Less than \$5,000.		\$5,000 and Less than \$10,000.		\$10,000 and Less than \$20,000.		\$20,000 and Under \$50,000.	
	No. of Tax-payers.	Per Cent. of Tax-payers.	No. of Tax-payers.	Per Cent. of Tax-payers.	No. of Tax-payers.	Per Cent. of Tax-payers.	No. of Tax-payers.	Per Cent. of Tax-payers.	No. of Tax-payers.	Per Cent. of Tax-payers.	No. of Tax-payers.	Per Cent. of Tax-payers.
1848.....	45	90.	3	6.	2	4.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1856.....	251	91.6	11	4.02	8	2.92	4	1.46	.....	.....	.....	.....
1862.....	126	81.29	18	11.61	9	5.81	2	1.29	.....	.....	.....	.....
1873.....	209	56.03	77	20.64	66	17.70	14	3.75	7	1.88	.....	.....
1876.....	222	64.	66	19.	42	12.	10	3.	5	2.	.....	.....
1880.....	312	77.04	51	12.6	28	6.91	9	2.22	5	1.23	.....	.....
1890.....	410	79.15	64	12.35	35	6.76	5	.96	3	.59	1	.19
1900.....	574	72.02	130	16.31	61	7.65	33	2.89	4	.5	5	.63
1910.....	522	62.82	194	23.34	90	10.83	15	1.81	9	1.08	1	.12

TABLE IX
DELINQUENT TAX

Year.	Amount.
1860	\$116.20
1861	104.39
1862	125.80
1872	190.37
1875	387.53
1886	64.53
1887	57.32
1909	197.16

for a rainy day". Those who "spend it as they go for things they can't afford" are few, and are freely criticised. A professional man thoroughly acquainted with the people gave a keen analysis of the social mind when he observed: "Nobody in Aton wants to get rich. If they own a home and have a little money they are satisfied to sit down and take it easy."

4. Impulsive action has been a marked characteristic of the people of Aton in its economic activities. From early days this has been true. However, in the last two decades it has been less in evidence. The annals of the town are full of fruitless ventures of all sorts. Many companies for the manufacture of local inventions, such as perpetual motion machines, sewing machines, wind pumps, engines, signal boards, etc., have sprung up and speedily failed for want of reasonable consideration as to their practicability or failure to estimate the demand for their products. Large investments have again and again been made in undertakings, chosen with little intelligence and managed with less, not one of which ever succeeded. People have been eager to put their money into whatever was represented to them as "a sure thing", such as oil and mining stocks of companies operating in remote places or such as fake insurance, confidently believing they had found a bonanza. They have been the easy prey of the promoter, simply because their reaction has been emotional instead of rational. The first and second periods were particularly marked by this.

As a typical illustration, a fraudulent life-insurance company, offering what is commonly known as "grave-yard insurance", wrote over \$200,000 in policies in the community. It had few patrons elsewhere. After collecting large sums in premiums it failed without assets. The efforts on behalf of economic welfare at the opening of the second period, as they are reflected in *The Republican* and in personal accounts, were merely sentimental gushes that accomplished nothing. A recrudescence of impulsive action was seen in the recent effort to import the "big factory", previously mentioned, which ended in disastrous failure to the town because of lack of careful investigation and shrewd foresight. Under the enthusiasm of booming the town, stock "sold like hot cakes" though nobody knew whether the company had been a success or would continue to be. Purchase of stock in the company became a craze that swept the town. If one dared to offer a criticism or raise a doubt he was sneered at and scorned with a vindictiveness not unlike that a mob might manifest. It is said that "practically everybody who had any money invested."

From the advent of the first railroad the idea has persisted that Aton can be a manufacturing town, but the conditions necessary for the upbuilding of industries are not considered. The failure of enterprises of local origin has only served to turn attention to more enchanting things from a distance. "If we would only advertise, and put up the money we could get them", has been about as far as reasoning has gone in the matter. The fact that Aton has neither good shipping facilities, a fuel supply nor, any longer, natural resources, nor even large capital, is not regarded. This merely emotional attitude in the economic realm, awakened by developments in other places, will be seen to be in harmony with the general type of mind as it

functioned in other spheres during the first two periods in particular.

Another fact which is given no consideration by Aton at the present time in its efforts for industrial development is that more towns and rural villages in the Central States desire the same kind of industrial development than can take place unless something greatly increases the demand for industrial products in the country at large; and the hundreds of other places that want factories are not more rational in their desires than is Aton. This desire is generally a case of imitation. Where occasionally one village has had some little industrial development because of natural causes in location or resources, fifty others, wanting in these advantages, straightway begin to imitate it in seeking factories. To advertise and offer a large bonus is the common method. Inspired by the belief that industries will enhance the value of property, the villager is ready to contribute his small savings to further them. The shrewd promoter is also ready often to take advantage of such communities to "make a haul" without delivering the goods, as was the case in Aton.

In the manner indicated above the small savings of Aton have been dissipated again and again, and many individuals have been impoverished. Had the capital, thus lost, been invested, for instance, in land and its development, reliable incomes would certainly have resulted for many people, and there would have followed social developments Aton has not experienced. Had the merchants wisely employed their surplus earnings in the improvement of their business, Aton might have a far more extensive trade to-day. The lure of the mail-order houses of Chicago, whose competition is of growing importance in the undoing of local trade, can be counteracted, not by an appeal to the farmer or villager to "patronize home industry", but only by modern methods of business whereby the demand is supplied at prices that meet those of the competitors.

CHAPTER II

JURIDICAL ACTIVITY

I. The Regulators. The earliest association, aside from the regular courts, for the enforcement of law and order was "The Aton Regulators". They were active in the pioneer period, terminating their existence about the year 1860. The rough and wild country was the rendezvous of "thieves, burglars, horse-thieves, counterfeiterers, and all kinds of black-legs. . . . The arm of the law could not reach and effectively handle them."¹ So this organization was formed, which, co-operating with others like it in adjacent districts, "diligently hunted the outlaws and summarily meted out justice to them."¹ Those who offended against morals or customs were frequently "taken under cover of night and soundly horse-whipped by bands of enraged citizens." Occasionally a vile miscreant would be tarred and feathered, but more often such objectional citizens were given warning to leave the country within a specified time or else forfeit their lives as a consequence. Many instances from those early days might be cited by way of illustration. Those apprehended for heinous offenses were shot or hanged to the first tree. Many a horse-thief or robber thus came to his end without asking or expecting mercy of his captors, whose lives he would have sacrificed as ruthlessly had they stood in the way of his operations. From a number of old citizens it is gathered that in those days there was much crime that never reached

¹ *History of the Regulators of Northern Indiana, passim.*
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the courts, and if punished at all it was by lynch law. Many notorious characters are recollected, and their deeds recounted. The lives of some of these celebrities who made the region famous by their daring exploits, have been written. These tales are quite as romantic as any that have ever been told of famous desperadoes and freebooters. Conditions that prevailed in the district in and about Aton during the forties and fifties approached the type of an approbational society.

2. The Courts. In 1839 the circuit court of the district was formed, and from that date has held regular sittings in Aton. It has jurisdiction over all legal matters, including probate business. Since the business of this court includes far more than that of Aton, any tabulation of facts from its records can be of value for this study only as light may be thrown thereby from the activities of the whole upon the part. Moreover, complete records are not accessible to the public, but a tabulation has been made from such as are. From the Bar Dockets and the Order Books, Table X has been compiled. While this table is only approximately correct, it, nevertheless, reveals something of the nature of legal affairs in the community. Though the data are for the whole county, it is yet true that the town in general is homogeneous with the larger group, that like conditions obtain throughout, and that a proportional amount of the cases arise in Aton. The table shows that civil suits are on the decrease, particularly since 1880. The same is also true of criminal cases when the increase of population is considered. To give a résumé of the reasons advanced by various members of the bar in explanation of the change:

The people have grown wiser. . . . They have learned it doesn't pay to go to law about most things. . . . Through the increase of fair-mindedness and a spirit of tolerance fewer

TABLE X
CASES IN CIRCUIT COURT

Year.	Criminal cases.			Civil suits.	Probate.	Divorce. (First in 1844.)
	Tot.	Fel.	Mis.			
1838-1846 ¹	54	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
1846-1853 ¹	45	.....	.....	.....	.....	18
1853-1857 ¹	34	.....	.....	430	.....	2
1857-1862 ¹	53	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
1862-1870 ¹	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	144
1873.....	45	.....	.....	178	140	20
1879.....	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	36
1880.....	43	.....	.....	219	.....	.....
1886.....	45	.....	.....	205	.....	.....
1887.....	47	17	30	.....	.....	29
1889.....	23	.....	.....	.....	.....	22
1890.....	58	.....	.....	194	.....	15
1891.....	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1893.....	23	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1896.....	38	.....	.....	.....	.....	30
1899.....	22	7	15	135	53	22
1900.....	64	16	48	123	45	21
1901.....	66	16	40	114	31	22
1902.....	30	11	19	110	22	31
1903.....	12	.....	.....	101	25	28
1904.....	15	.....	.....	111	21	33
1905.....	44	.....	.....	117	21	30
1906.....	21	.....	.....	119	10	31
1907.....	31	.....	.....	167	32	20
1908.....	25	.....	.....	105	19	29
1909.....	17	.....	.....	115	17	32
1910.....	14	.....	.....	102	18	30

cases arise than in former years. . . . People now compromise difficulties, whereas they used to fight it out.

A considerable variation in the number of criminal cases is due not so much to a difference in the amount of crime as to a more or less rigid enforcement of law governing misdemeanors, especially those pertaining to the violation of liquor, game and fish laws, and Sabbath observance statutes. Many prosecutions are for illegal fishing. Laws

¹ Not procurable for each year, separately.

regulating this sport are held in contempt and considered arbitrary and "for the benefit of city sports", by many people. Three judges who had served on the bench stated that felonious offenses were decreasing, and that misdemeanors were very largely violations of what might be called "Blue Laws". This was also the opinion of the bar in general.

TABLE XI
CRIMINAL CASES IN JUSTICE'S AND MAYOR'S COURTS

Crimes.	1849 to 1850.	1850 ¹ to 1860.	1860 to 1870.	1870 to 1880.	1880 to 1890.	1890 to 1900.	1900 to 1910.	Total.
Intoxication	3	105	227	112	224	671
Liquor laws	1	3	28	29	16	19	96
Bastardy	1	1	7	19	16	5	49
Assault	1	2	28	244	218	173	108	774
Theft	1	.....	4	26	13	11	9	64
Disturbance	1	4	11	11	8	4	39
Mal. trespass	10	6	6	13	35
Burglary	1	7	3	2	.....	13
Murder	2	4	.....	1	7
Rape	1	.....	.....	.....	2	3	2	8
Fish-game laws	1	4	37	40	82
Larceny	2	1	2	16	23	.....	44
Grand larceny	2	6	1	1	.....	10
Concealed weapons	7	9	13	5	34
Indecency	1	9	12	11	.....	33
Seduction	1	.....	1	1	.....	3
Forgery	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2	1	5
Fraud	1	1	2	1	.....	1	6
Sabbath des.	1	4	.....	2	.....	7
Robbery	4	.....	4
Cruelty	2	3	2	7
Counterfeiting	2	.....	1	.....	3
Trespass	1	4	5	10	11	31
Gambling	1	.....	2	1	2	5	11
Adultery	4	4
Prostitution	1	1	.....	.....	2
Profanity	1	2	2	5
Other offenses	3	11	24	9	34	15	96
Grand total	4	13	63	504	595	493	471	2143

¹ The decade 1850-1860 includes only five years in the records.

TABLE XI.—*Concluded*

CIVIL CASES IN JUSTICE'S COURT

Year.	Cases.	Year.	Cases.	Year.	Cases.
1849.....	18	1869.....	115	1889.....	26
1850.....	19	1870.....	158	1890.....	36
1851.....	17	1871.....	180	1891.....	53
1852.....	18	1872.....	137	1892.....	30
1853.....	11	1873.....	129	1893.....	56
1854.....	12	1874.....	209	1894.....	46
1855.....	10	1875.....	170	1895.....	31
1856.....	19	1876.....	300	1896.....	48
1857.....	14	1877.....	437	1897.....	15
1858.....	11	1878.....	111	1898.....	21
1859.....	30	1879.....	118	1899.....	10
1860.....	149	1880.....	69	1900.....	20
1861.....	21	1881.....	86	1901.....	22
1862.....	29	1882.....	65	1902.....	36
1863.....	35	1883.....	56	1903.....	17
1864.....	30	1884.....	39	1904.....	15
1865.....	42	1885.....	57	1905.....	10
1866.....	122	1886.....	59	1906.....	31
1867.....	159	1887.....	28	1907.....	23
1868.....	165	1888.....	20	1908.....	21
				1909.....	12
				1910.....	11

It was the testimony of an old hotel landlord that up to twenty-five years ago the town was crowded during court week, while now no difference in the number of people is made by it.

More accurate knowledge of the activities being considered may be had from the dockets of the justices, and the mayor's courts. Almost complete records, with only a few lapses, were found, and a careful examination made with the results noted in Table XI. However, with these data, as with that of the circuit court, it must be borne in mind that record of crime from the entire county is included. It is impossible to distinguish that pertaining to the town of Aton alone. It will be seen that for bastardy, rape, seduction, adultery and prostitution there have been but sixty-

six prosecutions in sixty years. The number of such cases in court, however, little reveals the true moral life of Aton, since for a considerable period these offenses were very lightly regarded or passed unnoticed altogether. Succeeding chapters will deal more fully with this. It is evident that in the past three decades pugilistic encounters have gradually decreased, until the last decade shows less than half the number of two decades ago. "Fighting is now a lost art in Aton to what it once was," a citizen remarked. Fifty-four cases of larceny and grand larceny appear, which is an average of less than one per year. Seven cases of murder are recorded in the history of the courts. Despite the fact that early decades were full of brawling and fighting, only five cases of death resulting from such encounters are known to have taken place. Two cases of premeditated murder seem to have occurred in Aton.

From these dockets some facts which the table does not show have been gleaned regarding cases of intoxication. The past year Aton has been a "dry town". Sixteen cases of intoxication are on record. The year previous, in which the saloons were closing up, there were twenty-six cases; and the year before thirty-six cases, while in 1906 there were fifty cases. This indicates a real decrease in drunkenness with a "dry town". The cases that did occur were in part non-residents coming to Aton drunk, and the "old soaks" who had their liquor shipped to them in private packages. A former period of no saloons, from 1898 to 1901, shows the first two years with only two and eight cases respectively, and then a jump in the next two years to twenty-three and thirty-six cases. The change was due to the opening of a wholesale liquor house which dispensed its wares in five gallon lots, and fostered excessive drinking among habitual drunkards.

Reverting again to the table, we find that the decade 1870

to 1880 exhibits a large increase of crime. This, be it remembered, was the period marked by the coming of the railroad, which awakened activities, opened many saloons, brought new people with resulting conflicts and lawlessness. The small amount of crime recorded in the previous decade is explained in part from the fact that a large per cent of men were in the army, and in the neglect of prosecution of such offenses as did occur because of the all absorbing interest in the war. The return of this same body of soldiers in the last half of the decade seems to have had but little influence on the amount of lawlessness. The increase in 1880 to 1890 is accounted for by the growth of population in part, but chiefly through the most rigid enforcement of law that has prevailed at any time in the history of the town. Since that decade the quantity of crime is seen to be less, when the increase in population is considered.

The number of civil cases in the Justice's Court bears a general relation to the number of criminal cases, especially up to 1880. It will be seen that the war period was one of little litigation even as it was one of little criminal prosecution. The large part the community had in the rebellion took attention from other things. Public opinion would not tolerate an exacting attitude on the part of creditors toward debtors. Numerous cases might be cited where the payment of debts against families where husbands and sons were in the army was not forced as otherwise would have been the case. The civil litigation also reflects in a general way the economic conditions of the community. The decade following the war was one of extensive litigation over debts. More than ninety per cent of the suits pertained to store accounts or notes involving small sums. This was the period of Aton's boom, yet there followed several years of hard times after it "busted". This the table reflects in the number of civil suits from 1874 to 1879. Beginning

with 1880, it is evident that there has been a gradual decrease of civil lawsuits. More stable economic conditions through increasing prosperity have made men both able and willing to pay just obligations. Coincident with this, action brought for small sums has grown in disfavor simply "because it don't pay", said the justice. "Things that folks used to law it about they let go now-days for it don't pay to spend more than you get lawin'", is Squire R's analysis of the situation. Along with other things business methods have improved, and less occasion arises for adjusting accounts in court. The lack of court business in recent years was greatly lamented by both the justice and the constable. "These offices used to pay well, but they ain't worth botherin' with no more", said the constable after thirty-five years of experience in the service of the Justice Court of Aton.

Withal it is quite evident that there has come about a gradual lessening of lawlessness in Aton, until at present the community justly bears the reputation of being very law-abiding. A process of socialization is indicated in this, which has kept pace with improving economic conditions, with the rise and growth of institutions of culture and social control, with the formation and hardening of custom, and with the development of higher moral standards accompanying it all.

Organized efforts in behalf of law-enforcement have arisen at various times. Notably in 1879 a "Vigilant Committee" was formed in Aton to "rid the community of fakers, crooks, and various kinds of lawlessness." It appears that the country was overrun with men who were perpetrating all manner of fraudulent and criminal acts whereby people were swindled out of property in exchange for gold-bricks, etc. In addition to this an era of petty crime had broken out. The work of this committee was

effective, in the course of a few months, in bringing some to justice and so alarming others that the wave of crime subsided.

A number of times in the last thirty-five years there has been such flagrant violation of the liquor laws in Aton that a considerable body of citizens have united to bring about better conditions. Particularly in 1887-1888 were their efforts fruitful, when wholesale prosecutions of the liquor dealers resulted in "greatly improved conditions of peace and order". In the last decade activities in this line have been frequent and useful. A "Committee of One Hundred", and later "The Citizen's League for Law-enforcement", have diligently guarded public interests, punishing many offenders and maintaining peace and conformity to law.

CHAPTER III

AGENCIES OF UNORGANIZED SOCIAL SELF-CONTROL

Although such a chapter as the one proposed does not come under a section devoted to social organization, it is very naturally suggested by the preceding chapter, and may logically be discussed following it.

1. Public Opinion. Public opinion is moulded in Aton, as elsewhere, by the pulpit, the press, and the platform. The first agency is the most effective. It has manifested its power in forming temperance sentiment especially. In the face of a strong anti-saloon feeling, which the pulpit had created, a certain minister began advocating saloons in lieu of a wholesale liquor store then flourishing. The other ministers completely ignored his utterances, thinking the cause was safe, and that "if the calf is given rope he will hang himself". In a few weeks, however, the pro-liquor preacher had won the crowd and accomplished the defeat of remonstrances. Following this a united pulpit campaign again won the victory against the saloons. The press revealed its ability to form public opinion in an appeal for the prevention of cruelty to horses, which, some years ago, farmers were accustomed to leave unblanketed and unfed all day upon the streets. Such a feeling was engendered against the practice that it was abolished, and has not been tolerated since in Aton.

The effectiveness of the sanctions, the praises and the blames of public opinion, as a coercive and regulative agency is much in evidence. Candidates for public office

have failed of nomination or election because public opinion condemned them. This happened recently in the defeat of the Republican candidate for mayor. It was this agency that rid the village of disreputable houses and women about twenty-five years ago, and has since kept it free from public vice. It is quickly formed in the village community, and, in the case of Aton, its preponderating influence is for right morals.

2. Moral Valuation. Moral valuation in Aton is an effective agency of social control. Its judgments are severe, and often expressed in such a way as to be coercive. It is largely through personal attitudes of warmth or coldness, and public praise or ridicule, that it makes itself felt. Many of these valuations in Aton, originating with the churches, through their widening influence, have supplanted those of an earlier dominant group, and now holding sway, react upon the composition of the community in a selective manner. Illustrations of their operation are numerous. A well-to-do deacon was widowed and straightway married a young wife. He had been very penurious with his first spouse, but now proposed an extensive wedding trip. People were so indignant that "he should be spending on a young girl what the mother of his children had slaved for and wasn't allowed to spend", that hundreds of citizens gathered and made his departure so unpleasant with various means of ridicule that it was impossible for an indefinite period for the deacon to return. A well-known and reputable clerk was found guilty of peculation by his employer and dismissed. Not only did he "drop low in the estimation of everybody", but his family was likewise denounced because "they wanted to put on as much style as millionaires, and made a dog of him, and drove him to stealing". Such an attitude was assumed toward them that they removed from

the town, though all their interests were centered here. Many instances occur, where through scorn and aloofness on the part of neighbors, offenders are virtually compelled to leave the place.

3. Gossip. Gossip is another regulative force in Aton. As in all villages, "everybody knows his neighbors' business better than his own." Personal conduct is freely discussed, and if it be contrary to custom or moral standards, this soon becomes a matter of general knowledge. The fear of "bein' talked about" is a conscious element in the actions of most people. Many will refrain from doing things they do not disapprove of simply because "somebody is liable to say something". The rumors set afloat by gossip are usually accepted as true by the great majority, and the community never forgets the purported offenses of the individual concerned. Women will not call upon one who "has been talked about", nor will they often lend a hand in cases of need in such instances. Whether justly or unjustly accused, few take pains to find out, but the victim "gets the cold shoulder" nevertheless, and is socially ostracised. The motive is "for fear you'll be misunderstood" if you associate with them, rather than a real condemnation of the supposed offenders in all cases. The church member hesitates to enter a saloon or pool hall, however well known his virtues may be, lest "they say he's drinking or gambling". In several instances gossip has crippled their influence, ruined their business, and driven business and professional men from Aton. It is not too much to say that in the village, gossip plays the part of an invisible policeman, keeping watch over every individual, prying into domestic circles, thrusting himself into places of business, patrolling every street and alley, every place of worship and amusement, inspiring fear and controlling conduct.

4. Custom. Custom holds Aton to certain courses of ac-

tion. Its observance is as much demanded as respect for law or moral standards which may themselves be customs. That which is customary usually has the significance of right and the contrary is wrong. The Sabbath day is habitually kept as one of peace, and he who uses it otherwise than in church attendance or quiet rest is judged immoral. The strength of custom was exhibited some years ago when the members of a western family, sojourning for a time in Aton, rode their ponies in "cow-boy fashion" of Sundays upon the streets. They violated no ordinance, only offended against the established practices of the village. People "didn't like to see it", and so much disapproval was manifested that they were compelled to refrain. For one to be anything but democratic, which means to be cordial and unconventional in conduct, is to elicit criticism. Habits of industry, economy, honesty, sobriety, and chastity are customary. Thrust upon the individual by precept and example, together with the consequences of their disregard freely inculcated, these mores operate as forces of social control. The customs of the group act as a tether confining conduct to certain bounds, and being little disturbed by other or different ones tend to become more and more arbitrary and compelling.

5. Belief. Belief is a significant factor of social control, especially in a religious sense in Aton. The type of religion is such that large numbers are governed thereby in this community. The fear of punishment and the hope of reward in a future world are the fundamental doctrines. By these other-worldly motives the conduct of many is directed. Certain ascetic practices of self-denial hold sway and curb the individual's actions. Self-indulgence of any sort, anger, hatred, lying, gambling, cheating, etc., are sins, from which a real fear of the judgment deters. The restraints and incentives that may be directly traced to religion are much in

evidence. Some of them are decidedly unsocializing, but the greater part promote sympathy and mutual aid.

Unorganized agencies of social control are most significant and effective in the village community, for there is no escaping them. This is because of the social solidarity found in towns like Aton, where a narrowly circumscribed environment permits the quick and certain play of social forces upon every member of the group.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

1. Form of Government. On the organization of the corporation of Aton in 1866, the local government was vested in a board of three trustees, a clerk, treasurer, assessor, and a marshal. This corporation was succeeded by a second in 1906, when a city charter was received. The chief effects of this seemed to be that it gave the citizens an opportunity to call their village "a city". Under the city régime the offices of mayor, weigh-master, and attorney were added, and the trustees became five councilmen.

Before 1890, little interest was taken in village matters. Since then more or less attention has been directed to street improvements, side-walks, and general public welfare, such as sanitation, order, and the regulation of business. Electric street lighting and water-works have been installed, also a sewer system, at an expenditure of some \$70,000, in part of the town. Street paving has been considered, and the securing of a public library agitated.

The administration of the county government is carried on in Aton; but as that does not pertain directly to the affairs of the village, it will not be considered.

2. Politics and Political Parties. Unusual interest in politics has always prevailed in Aton. Strong party organizations date from 1840. Before the sixties party lines were sharply drawn, prejudices strong, and politics decidedly pungent. Since then party spirit has held sway. Party dictum has held almost absolute rule. Disloyalty to party

is "very dishonorable", almost immoral. A prominent citizen, who from conviction left the Republican ranks thirty years ago, was bitterly hated by his fellows, charged with all manner of sinister motives, and even to-day is a "disreputable turncoat". Any signs of political independence is a mark of instability and an occasion for censure. Fathers take it as a matter of course that their sons will be loyal to their party. If they fail, which is rare, it is evidence not only of filial dishonor but of personal weakness. The best reasons that are given why a son should adhere to his father's party, are that "our family has always been Republican or Democratic", or if it be a Republican, "your father fought to save the union, and you must not kick over his work and disgrace his name", is likely to be the argument. Where coercion is necessary to keep the son in line, threats of disinheritance, and the withholding of financial assistance have been employed. Many instances of this have come under the writer's personal observation.

Coercive methods are effectively employed to "line up the doubtful voter". To illustrate, an old soldier who had always been a "standpatter" permitted an occupant of his residence to display a Byran picture from one of the windows of the house. This man had been appointed on the election board, but for this offense he was removed and shunned by his comrades "till he felt it". So it follows that little independent voting is done. Few vote anything but the "straight ticket". What independence is manifested is secret. The following tables will indicate to a degree the extent of this. Table XII shows the difference between the votes of the two leading parties on the national ticket in the town and county since 1840. Before 1860 there was an extreme variation of ten votes or the difference between 23 and 13 as shown in the table, which might indicate a change of five from one

TABLE XII

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN VOTES

Year.	Town.	County.
1840	23	62
1844	23	25
1848	21	37
1852	13	59
1856	19	662
1860	116	1013
1864	136	1033
1868	123	1051
1872	124	1163
1876	120	1242
1880	122	1040
1884	87	906
1888	126	1004
1892	129	931
1896	214	1032
1900	105	1187
1904	334	1581
1908	258	1208

party to the other. From 1860 to 1892 a fluctuation of forty-nine votes at the most might signify a change of twenty-five votes. Since then a change of one hundred and fourteen votes is seen to have been possible. However, the small party vote seen in Table XIII must be taken into account in reaching any conclusions. This vote has been drawn very largely from the Democratic party. That is particularly true in the case of the Prohibitionists and the Populists. To be either is to be counted a Democrat in Aton. The fluctuation between the Democratic and Republican parties is partly explained by this fact. Again, the Democratic voter has more often failed to vote at all "because we don't elect anything anyhow". All in all the amount of independence has been relatively small. As will be seen by consulting Charts I and II, it has not been sufficient since 1860, either in the town or in the county, with two exceptions, to change the invariable results.

TABLE XIII
THE VOTES OF SMALL PARTIES IN ATON

Year.	1840.	1844.	1848.	1852.	1856.	1860.	1864.	1868.	1872.	1876.	1880.	1884.	1888.	1892.	1896.	1900.	1904.	1908.
Liberty	4																	
Free soil		34	2															
American					4													
National						36						13	10					
Independent										14								1
Prohibition											11	20	62	14	37	27	40	
People's														40	13		1	
Gold															3			
Socialist																	2	3
Socialist Labor															1		2	
Total	4	34	2	4	36					14	24	30	102	31	37	32	44	

Previous to the Civil War the political alignment divided the Democrats and the Whigs and later the Republicans and Democrats very nearly equally. The results were doubtful; victory was alternately shared. Since then the town and county have been unalterably Republican. The community is always pointed to as the most stable Republican town of the state. Charts I and II show that the county gives larger majorities than the town. The curves of the town are seen to be more sensitive to the issues at stake. In local elections and where candidates have been known in the community, majorities have been less and more variable. Including 1860, the average Republican vote is shown in Table XIV.

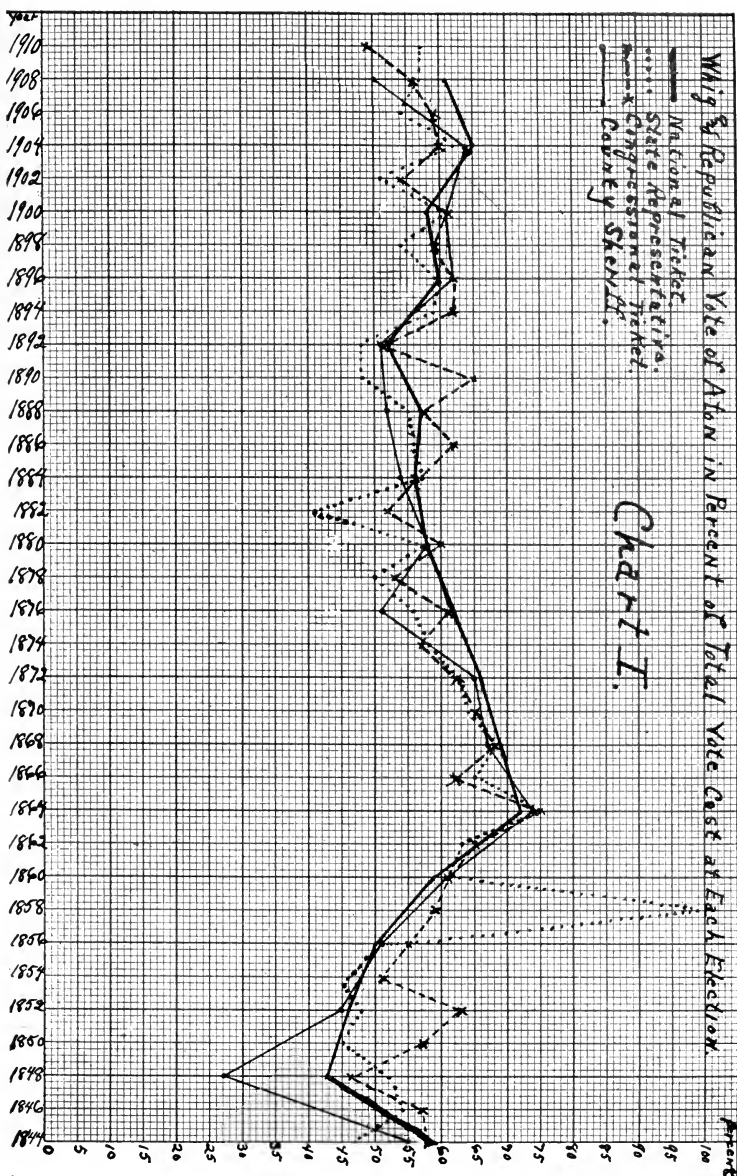
TABLE XIV
AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF REPUBLICAN VOTES

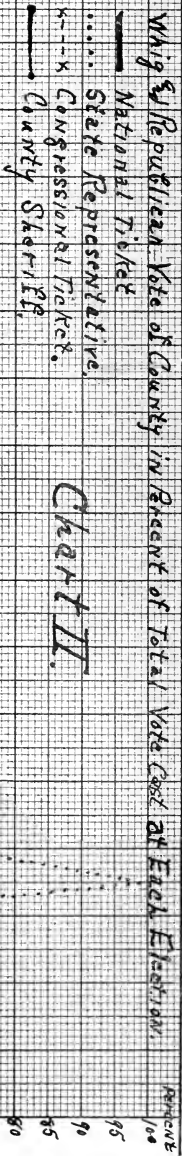
Ticket.	Town.	County.
National	60 %	65 %
Congressional	51 %	64 %
Representative	58 %	62 %
Sheriff	59 %	62 %

Wing of Republican Vote of Aton in Percent of Total Vote Cast at Each Election.

— National Ticket.
 - - - State Representative.
 - - - Congressional Ticket.
 — Cooney Sherell.

Chart I.





In corporation elections both parties have usually been represented. Sometimes the contest has been "hot". While a tendency has been manifested to choose men for office on account of their individual fitness, most often loyalty to party has won the day. Records of corporation elections are extant only since 1890. These are given in Table XV for the town Marshall. Table XV gives the per

TABLE XV
REPUBLICAN VOTES FOR TOWN MARSHALL

Year.	Per Cent.	Year.	Per Cent.	Year.	Per Cent.
1891.....	51	1896.....	55	1901.....	37
1892.....	54	1897.....	57	1903.....	56
1893.....	58	1898.....	64	1905.....	60
1894.....	58	1899.....	65	1906.....	58
1895.....	55	1900.....	68	1909.....	53

cent of the total vote cast that was received by the winning ticket. In the period represented but one Democrat has been elected. Previous to that, in so far as can be determined, none save Republicans were elected to town offices

3. Good Government and Political Reform. Efforts for good government and political reform have arisen but once in the history of the community. For years occasional suspicions of corruption and misappropriation of public funds, on the part of "the court house ring", had been intimated; but no attempt to uncover the frauds was suggested. In 1897, revelations of wholesale robbery of the public funds in an adjoining county stimulated an investigation in Aton. A movement was headed by the leading taxpayer of the village, who was the means of arousing the interest of some two thousand voters in the town and county in a non-partisan endeavor to ferret out the corruption. The Republican party organization, together with its paper, was much alarmed, and did

all that was possible to allay suspicion and forestall the proposed investigation. The party had been in complete control of all public offices since 1860, and fully realized its situation. At this time it was firmly enough entrenched in its position to prevent access to the public accounts, and delay proceedings for months, meanwhile appealing to partisan loyalty, putting its house in order by "plugging the books", and bribing agitators to keep quiet. Several attempts were made upon the life of the leader of the reform movement. Public officials went about armed, and offices were patrolled by armed guards, "for the purpose of creating the impression that 'The Committee of Reform' was the enemy of public welfare, and was liable to make violent attempts to steal and destroy the records." After much delay the court ordered the investigation to proceed. The results disclosed discrepancies of several thousand dollars in the accounts. A part of this money was refunded, but none of the offenders were punished. The Republican "Court House Ring" was strong enough to forestall this, and whitewash the situation. Failing to accomplish the desired ends, the reform element organized "The Reform Party", and nominated a ticket with which they hoped to drive the Republicans from all local offices in a campaign for "honest government". In the months intervening before election the enthusiasm of many erstwhile reformers waned, the old appeal to party loyalty was brought into play with telling effect by both Republicans and Democrats, so that by election time few reformers were left. The entire vote of "The Reform Party" in the town was forty-four votes, while in the whole county there were only one hundred and seventy-five. The net results of this effort on behalf of good government, however, have been some improvements in the method of administering public affairs, and an ostensibly honest use of funds.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

1. Early Conditions. The founders of Aton fully intended to exclude churches for all time. Under their influence spiritualism and free-love became dominant; and the village acquired a reputation far and near for irreligion and immorality. It was spoken of as "a hot-bed of infidelity and vice". As late as 1865, it is probable that nine-tenths of the population were spiritualists and given to free-love. During this decade the most noted mediums of the land made Aton their headquarters, among them Abbey Kelley Foster, Mrs. Griffin and Mrs. Seymour. The town newspaper of that time says: "They held many public services, conducted funerals, and 'did great miracles' before the eyes of the public."

In 1855 the publication of an "infidel" paper known as *The Truth Seeker* was begun. It was financed by the founder and leading man of Aton. Its motto was "For Free Thought and Free Discussion and Democracy. Against False Theology, Superstition, Bigotry, Ignorance, Aristocracies, Privilege Classes, Tyrannies, Oppression, and Everything that Degrades or Burdens Mankind Mentally or Physically." This paper is described as a "most vile and vicious sheet". It wielded a strong influence for some years, and then removed from the town. The popular belief in Aton is that it was continued in *The Truth Seeker* now published in New York city. So strong is that belief that when, in 1879, the editor of the New York paper was "imprisoned for sending obscene matter through the United

States mails", a petition was freely signed in Aton praying the United States government for his release. The writer, however, is unable to trace any succession in these papers.

The conditions above described prevailed till into the eighties. Spiritualistic meetings were then common. In 1881 there was an organization of some hundred and fifty members.

2. Period of Churches. In contrast to former religious influences, Aton is now one of the most thoroughly churchied communities to be found anywhere. The beliefs of earlier years have disappeared. The families that championed them are now in the churches, together with the wealth, culture and talent of the town. The church is easily the most dominant social force in Aton, leading reforms, promoting improvements, and directing pleasure. More than three-fifths of the people are believed to be regular attendants. The ministry is the most influential class. Older residents take delight in pointing out the "wonderful change", and consider it the most significant phenomenon of the town's history.

Sporadic attempts to hold services were made by orthodox bodies before 1855, but "they were frozen out". In that year the Methodist circuit rider of the county occasionally tried to "hold meetings". He was "hooted and assailed upon the streets with blackguarding". The few who came to services did so out of idle curiosity. They were chiefly "women who brought along their knitting and sewing, and busily worked while the preacher prayed and preached". He says in a letter relative to his experiences:

Aton was then the headquarters of infidelity and spiritualism in all its phases and forms. They were in the habit of frequently interrupting me when I was trying to preach, but I did not know much, and consequently did not fear much, and would handle them without gloves. . . . I took advantage of

an attempt to break up a meeting, that created a good deal of excitement, to build a church. . . . By good management and the help of the Lord I got enough money subscribed (from outsiders) to justify me in letting a contract to build a church 50x35 feet, with belfry and spire, for \$1,425. . . . The infidels ran a vile paper in Aton at that time. They called it *The Truth Seeker*, but I christened it *The Truth Killer*. They tried to drive me out; said all manner of vile things about me and the enterprise, and many notices each week would come out about [Blank's] Gag Pen, . . . but the building was completed in, I presume without doubt, the hardest place in the bounds of our Indiana conference.

For the ten years succeeding the building of the chapel, little was attempted or accomplished on the part of church forces. Services were held only about once a month, even until 1867 or 1868. In 1867 another religious body, the Disciples, "moved upon Aton", and held a "protracted meeting". From that date the ascendancy of the churches has been constant. Table XVI shows the growth in membership. It is evident that the church membership of Aton is unusual when compared with other communities. Of the United States as a whole, according to the last religious census (1906), but 39.1 per cent of the population were church members. The North Central States had 39.3 per cent. Indiana, included in this group, had 34.6 per cent, and the county in which Aton is located had 31.1 per cent of its people upon the rolls of churches. The state which had the highest percentage of church members are as follows: New Mexico with 63.3 per cent; Utah with 54.6 per cent; Rhode Island with 54 per cent; Massachusetts with 51 per cent; Louisiana with 50.6 per cent; and Connecticut with 50 per cent. With the exception of Utah, the membership in these states was largely Catholic, with many children counted, says the census report. In Aton the denominations are all

TABLE XVI
CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN ATON

Year.	Methodist Episcopal.	First Disciple.	Congre- gational.	Second Disciple.	United Brethren.	Total.	Per cent of Popula- tion.
1855..	34	....	....	....	....	34	8.3
1860..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
1865..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
1868..	25	38	....	....	....	63	8.4
1869..	25	60	9	....	....	94	....
1870..	72	100	15	....	....	187	17.4
1875..	100	200	50	....	....	350	....
1880..	85	275	68	....	....	428	33.4
1885..	120	281	26	....	....	427	....
1888..	180	....	43	60	....	....	....
1890..	200	325	59	64	....	649	34.6
1895..	301	350	78	90	....	819	....
1900..	340	790	108	110	77	1425	57.3
1901..	350	700	119	....	178	....	....
1902..	330	735	121	....	....	....	....
1903..	335	874	127	....	....	....	....
1904..	340	....	116	....	250	....	....
1905..	341	840	124	95	175	1575	....
1906..	353	901	130	....	178	....	....
1907..	347	....	143	125	70	....	....
1908..	365	980	139	....	93	....	....
1909..	370	1195	142	125	71	1603	....
1910..	400	1226	144	130	80	1980	75.7

Protestant, and small children are not counted. Making due allowance for a small percent of non-resident members, Aton exhibits a membership far in excess of the average Protestant community.

The coming of other religious bodies into Aton, besides the Methodists, began in 1866. The Presbyterians occupied the chapel with the Methodists. They soon quarreled, however, ending their troubles in the courts. The result was the formation of a Congregational church in 1869. A Disciple preacher came and began aggressive evangelism, which "for the first time attracted the attention of the community in a vital way to the claims of Christianity." This sect was bitterly opposed by the few other church members of the town. The minister wrote:

In the evening I began a protracted meeting. At the close of the discourse a young gentleman arose in the congregation and asked the privilege of speaking a few words, and then went on to warn the people that we were not orthodox. This gentleman was a Presbyterian clergyman. This opposition he continued for many evenings, thus aiding me very much in getting a hearing and in arousing an interest.

It is said that a crowd came to see "the preachers fight", but with the crowd thus attracted "the evangelist got some of them, and broke the way for others." From that date bitter sectarianism has prevailed. Positive beliefs, developed through partyism, have tended to perpetuate those first sects and to preclude the entering of others. Others have tried to establish themselves, such as Episcopalians, Catholics, Mormons, and Adventists, yet none succeeded, except the latter two, and they but temporarily. In 1876 the United Brethren held a protracted meeting and formed an organization. This, however, was not permanently established until 1900. All but one of the churches owe their origin to revival meetings.

Table XVII indicates the growth of church auxiliaries and allied organizations. The development in this line coincides with the period of general growth in the churches.

The economic development of the churches is given in Table XVIII. In some cases the figures are necessarily only estimates, since there are no complete records extant. In many instances the total expenditures and benevolences have probably been in excess of the showing made. It is evident that the economic growth has taken place chiefly since 1890. It has coincided with the period of greatest general prosperity of the people. Preceding this, church finances were unstable, and giving, sporadic. At best it is clear that expenditures in the churches are variable quantities, so much depending upon the leadership, and the eco-

[illegible]

TABLE XVIII
ECONOMIC GROWTH OF CHURCHES
Congregational

Year.	Value of Property.	Salary.	Missions and Benevolences.	Total Expenditures.
1870	\$6,000	\$700	.....	.....
1876 .....	.....	.....	\$ 98	.....
1880 .....	.....	.....	62	\$577
1889	6,000	1,125	150	1,675
1894	10,800	1,150	130	1,280
1895 .....	.....	.....	145	1,295
1899	8,000	1,350	46	3,500
1900 .....	.....	.....	43	2,043
1905	10,000	1,000	301	2,685
1906 .....	.....	.....	340	1,706
1907 .....	.....	.....	88	1,821
1908 .....	.....	.....	83	1,690
1909	12,000	1,200	90	1,900
1910 .....	.....	.....	116	3,866

First Disciple

1870 .....	.....	\$500	.....	.....
1872	6,000	.....	.....	.....
1880 .....	.....	1,000	\$90	.....
1890	1,000	.....	125	1,500
1893 .....	.....	.....	150	1,469
1894 .....	.....	.....	195	1,685
1895	8,000	900	294	1,481
1899	12,000	1,400	1,210	4,248
1900 .....	.....	.....	941	5,683
1905 .....	.....	1,200	1,190	3,540
1907 .....	.....	.....	1,482	4,223
1908 .....	.....	1,500	1,087	4,513
1909 .....	.....	.....	1,652	5,622
1910	65,000	.....	2,220	6,550

Second Disciple

1893	2,500	.....	.....	.....
1895 .....	.....	100	.....	245
1900 .....	.....	125	40	265
1905 .....	.....	.....	50	305
1906 .....	.....	175	.....	300
1907	3,000	250	.....	.....
1908 .....	.....	.....	50	400
1909 .....	.....	.....	60	450
1910	3,500	.....	65	500

TABLE XVIII—*Concluded**Methodist*

Year.	Value of Property.	Salary.	Missions and Benevolences.	Total Expenditures.
1870	\$2,000	600	.....	.....
1875 .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1882	4,000	743	\$36	\$939
1885 .....	.....	845	53	908
1890	11,500	992	94	1,086
1895	12,000	980	143	1,559
1900 .....	.....	1,278	375	2,178
1905	13,000	1,301	622	2,541
1906 .....	.....	1,495	508	2,664
1907 .....	.....	1,505	509	2,713
1908 .....	.....	1,608	1,000	3,358
1909	15,000	1,678	589	2,857
1910	25,000	1,685	850	3,130

United Brethren

1900	5,000	337	28	1,862
1904 .....	.....	700	62	1,918
1905 .....	.....	450	62	1,893
1906 .....	.....	584	60	2,046
1907	8,000	375	46	1,252
1908 .....	.....	750	126	1,287
1909	10,000	350	83	965
1910 .....	.....	500	60	750

Grand Totals

1870	8,000	1,800	.....	.....
1880	16,000	2,200	.....	.....
1890	24,500	3,117	172	2,586
1895	33,300	3,230	582	4,580
1900	39,500	4,490	1,427	12,031
1905	42,500	4,176	2,225	10,964
1910	115,500	5,135	3,311	14,796

conomic status of the particular congregation for any given year. Contributions to missions and benevolences are seen to be relatively large in the last decade especially. Only a small percent of such gifts has been expended locally, the

greater part going to mission causes abroad through denominational missionary boards. Great stress has been put upon missions, and by that the liberal support of them is accounted for. Notwithstanding the stability of the churches, their strength and influence, it is the testimony of all that the financial problem is always a difficult one. In this connection it is worthy of note that the total investment in church property is fully equal to the combined value of all property devoted to productive industry.

In addition to what has already been shown, the extent of the influence of religion in Aton may be best comprehended through the number of homes it reaches. There are approximately seven hundred and twelve distinct families in the village. Of this number there are six hundred and eighty represented by one or more members upon the rolls of the several churches. This means 95.5 per cent of the total number. In but a very few cases are families divided in their church affiliations. Where this is true, except in three or four instances, some member of the family holds membership in some denomination not found in Aton.

From the foregoing survey of religious activities it is evident that this phenomenon has a unique development in Aton. The cause of this, together with its significance, will be treated in a succeeding chapter (*cf. infra*, pp. 139-147).

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

I. Institutions. The first school was opened in Aton in a private residence shortly after the settlement was formed. Two years later a select school was started, which ran for a short period. The first public school building was a log cabin erected in 1840. This met the needs until in 1863, when it was felt there should be something better, and consequently "Union Seminary" was opened, which attempted to "impart a knowledge of the higher branches of learning". *The Republican* said of the institution, "Up to this time the schools of Aton were much inferior to those of other towns much smaller." This seminary did not prosper, and gave way to a graded public school maintained by the village. In 1866 a good building was erected for school purposes. After 1872 the school passed entirely under the control of the village corporation, and very soon a high school was evolved. The first graduation was in 1877. Antedating this, an academy had been started, primarily for the instruction of teachers. It had five departments, *viz*: Normal, Commercial, Literary, Music, and College preparatory. This venture was due to a couple of enterprising teachers who came to Aton; but only for a short time was much interest taken in it, and so it gave place to the public school alone. A commodious brick building was erected in 1883 for the public school. This has since been enlarged and modernized. Table XIX exhibits the growth of the school since 1880.

TABLE XIX
GROWTH OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Year.	Enrollment.	Percent of Enumerated School Children.	Enrollment of High School.	Graduates.
1880	285	60.	..	3
1885	247	61.	..	5
1890	267	53.	..	10
1895	328	57.6	..	11
1900	368	75.	78	7
1901 .....	....	....	80	10
1902 .....	....	....	81	14
1903 .....	....	....	88	19
1904 .....	....	....	90	19
1905	447	81.	87	15
1906 .....	....	..	91	13
1907 .....	....	....	101	12
1908 .....	....	....	112	24
1909	467	81.	131	35
1910	450	82.4	139	18

It will be observed that the percent of attendance jumps up after 1895 about 20 per cent. This was due to a compulsory education law enacted by the Indiana Legislature compelling the attendance of all children six years of age and under fifteen. This law has been strictly enforced, in some instances with much opposition. The columns of *The Republican* show that from its beginning a community interest has been manifested in the school, but that interest has confined itself too often to the "superficial side, to public exhibitions and entertainments", rather than to the real work and efficiency of the institution. The ability of the teacher has often been measured by his success in these lines. Again the interests of the school have not infrequently been involved in church quarrels, and sacrificed to sectarian prejudices. Here is evidence of a certain un-socializing effect of the religious life of the community operating to its detriment.

Opportunities have been offered by the local college, yet few of the graduates have availed themselves of them.

The present superintendent says: "A careful investigation based upon the alumni records of the Aton High School shows that only about ten per cent of the graduates enter college, while ninety per cent enter at once into the active duties of life."

The origin and development of the local college deserves special notice. The idea of such an institution was of long standing in Aton. Much evidence points to the fact that it was suggested by the successful operation of a college in the neighboring village of Cton. Some three or four men "felt if Cton can have a higher institution of learning so can we". An attempt to realize their ideal was seen in the Seminary and the Academy. The failure of these efforts discouraged further attempts until in 1884 the idea was revived by the promoter of a Normal College, who came to Aton and enlisted the interests of a half-dozen men. A stock company was formed, and buildings erected. The college announced itself a private, undenominational, co-educational school. Its chief object was the training of teachers. Since then many other departments have been added. The success of the institution is due largely to the forcefulness of one man who for over twenty years was its president and chief stockholder. Its growth is set forth in Table XX.

The eight departments of the school at present are as follows: Art, Academic, Commercial, Collegiate, Educational, Engineering, Music, and Pharmacy. By the table it will be seen that the attendance was largely local in early years. By local is meant those from the county in which Aton is located. It will also be observed that this attendance has not increased as rapidly as has that from abroad. In the Education, Music, and Commercial departments the largest local attendance is usually found. What percent of the local enrollment has been from Aton, has been im-

TABLE XX
GROWTH OF ATON COLLEGE

Year.	Local Pupils.		Foreign Pupils.		Total.	Departments.	Faculty.
	Number.	Percent.	Number.	Percent.			
1885..	149	78	41	22	190	3	8
1886..	213	56	165	44	378	..	..
1887..	253	51	236	49	489	..	..
1888..	258	46	299	54	557	..	..
1889..	222	38	357	62	579	..	..
1890..	201	32	419	68	620	3	11
1891..	208	32	431	68	639	..	..
1892..	224	30	520	70	744	..	..
1893..	184	26	504	74	688	..	..
1894..	194	26	529	74	723	..	..
1895..	190	29	455	71	645	4	13
1896..	182	22	613	78	795	..	..
1897..	121	15	651	85	772	..	..
1898..	185	19	778	81	963	..	..
1899..	141	19	592	81	733	..	..
1900..	144	20	558	80	702	5	15
1901..	158	24	485	76	643	..	..
1902..	207	25	608	75	815	..	..
1903..	196	22	690	78	886	..	..
1904..	183	25	531	75	714	..	..
1905..	339	27	646	73	885	7	20
1906..	226	25	667	75	893	..	..
1907..	217	26	558	74	805	..	..
1908..	191	25	554	75	745	..	..
1909..	199	28	509	72	708	..	..
1910..	286	36	496	64	782	8	24

possible to determine. It probably has never exceeded about 40 per cent.

The purely cultural effect of the educational activities on the community life is not much in evidence. It is not seen in literary clubs, art or musical taste. Very little interest is manifest in these lines. It is more in evidence in certain fields of leadership. The general intelligence of the people is not above the ordinary. Illiteracy, however, is almost a negligible quantity, there being but ten persons over ten years of age reported illiterate by the Thirteenth United States Census.

2. Socializing and Unsocializing Effects. The aim of Aton's college has been "a maximum amount of work in a minimum amount of time". Its ideal has been a narrow utilitarianism that sacrificed academic thoroughness, and lost sight of broad culture. Its training has sought to make the student "worth more". This standard of value has connotated moral as much as money worth. A premium has been put on certain qualities of character, such as religious devotion, moral rectitude, and "servicefulness". The teachers have been preachers, and the student esteemed more for his character than his intellectual ability. Through the constant stimulus of personal influence and example, together with the habits and atmosphere of the institution, there has resulted a certain positive moral type with a marked interest in social service and reform. A study of the professions and occupations of the alumni furnishes abundant proof of this. The number of those graduating from the academic departments of the institution and receiving degrees in the course of its history is three hundred and ninety-four. This includes both males and females. Of the number about eighty are ministers, missionaries and reform workers. This is just about twenty per cent of the alumni. A large per cent of the others are known to be directly interested in these things though engaged in other vocations as a means of livelihood.

The college fosters an emotional reaction toward life instead of a critically intellectual one. Strong sentiments are cultivated, rather than the critical faculties. It is due to that most effective of all teachers, personal example and influence, exerted by the faculty of the institution. Truth is considered static, and the modern view of the world in philosophy and science is combated with religious zeal. A strong pressure from the group impinging from every side upon the student with a tendency to divergent views, and

the absence of free discussion has trained for political, religious, moral and intellectual conservatism and bias.

Democracy is cultivated as a social ideal by the exclusion of all fraternities, clubs and cliques, and by the precepts and examples of the faculty of the college. No student has any privilege not accorded to all. Snobbishness is unknown. No honors are offered or conferred. Social equality is inculcated and practiced. The poorest and humblest student is quite as much at home in the atmosphere as any other. The spirit of the institution is a democratizing force, and its operation is manifest in the life of Aton.

Not only have fraternities, clubs, class organizations, and the usual college societies, with the exception of two literary societies, been prohibited, but also all athletic sports. There has been as a consequence a lack of training in the team work, which such organizations afford. The college influence in this particular has extended over the public schools as well, and produced similar conditions there. The value of team work and group play in the formation of the social man is significant.¹ Tolerance, fair play, the ability to get together and pull together in co-operative efforts result therefrom. While Aton's college has been a socializing force in its moral and democratic emphasis, still, on the other hand, this has been offset by the absence of training in the art of co-operative activity, and the qualities indispensable to it. In lieu of this a certain individualism has been fostered rather strong in self-reliance and ability to lead, but weak when functioning with the group. The effects of this sort of development are in evidence in the life of Aton. A study of efforts toward co-operation in recent years in the community, and the problems and personalities involved gives support to the above contentions.

¹ Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 46, 199, 200.

CHAPTER VII

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

Co-operative efforts of the group or any considerable part of it for its welfare have been conspicuously absent throughout its history, but most especially in the last two periods. The first and early part of the second period furnishes more proof of ability to unite and carry on team work than the present time. More hearty sympathy and mutual aid came into play in the village life of that day. Since then radical individualism and independence have become dominant. Leadership has not been wanting, but "people wouldn't hang together on any proposition". They are jealous and suspicious of one another, and "afraid somebody has an axe to grind". Only through crises has extensive co-operation been brought about. Four such events have transpired in the life of Aton. The first was in 1861 when the Civil War began. In response to this the community "got together in hearty sympathy with the cause of Union", with demonstrations of patriotism, and in the formation of "The Union League of Aton". The second was in 1868-1869, when the future of the place depended on its getting a railroad by raising a large subsidy. In doing this there was a general community effort followed by united endeavors to "boom the town". The third crisis came nearly forty years later, about three years ago, when an east and west railroad made its coming through Aton contingent upon another large subsidy. It was believed that Aton would suffer severely if this road

were allowed to run to a neighboring village instead, and consequently there followed a united effort to secure the road. About a year later came the fourth crisis, which was precipitated by the proposed removal of the college from the town. Realizing the economic loss in the stagnation of business and depreciation of property the loss of the college would entail, "the citizens were driven together by the exigencies of the situation into a united effort to raise an endowment" sufficient to keep the institution. Once or twice previous to these latter crises, efforts had been made to form a commercial club for the purpose of furthering business interests, but nothing had come of them. Upon the heels of these two successful co-operative endeavors such a club was again proposed and successfully launched through the initiative of two new citizens of the village. This club fitted up rooms, and succeeded in bringing a large number of men into active fellowship for a time. Several members remarked: "We got acquainted with one another for the first time in a business way, and had a better feeling among us. Some of us found out how to pull together." One of the outcomes of this was a retail merchants' league for the purpose of regulating trade. This organization has improved business methods through black-listing dead-beats, and putting a premium on square dealing. In the meantime the Commercial Club has disintegrated from want of mutual confidence. When the enthusiasm stimulated by the crisis wore away, the customary *status quo* returned to break asunder the bonds of fellowship in united endeavor. Table XXI gives a list of the co-operative efforts and the periods to which they belong.

Aside from co-operation in commercial affairs there has been little community spirit. Andrew Carnegie offered \$10,000 toward a public library about a year ago, and a

TABLE XXI

CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS OF ATON

	First Period 1836-1869	Second Period 1869-1885	Third Period 1885-1910.
Regulators	I	..	..
Union League	I	..	..
Benevolent	I	..	..
Railway Promotion	I	..	..
Town Improvement	I	..	..
Vigilant Committee .....	..	I	..
Citizens' Committee .....	..	I	..
Reform .....	..	..	I
Railway Subsidy .....	..	..	I
College Endowment .....	..	..	I
Commercial Club .....	..	..	I
Temperance .....	..	..	I

site on which to build was proffered the town; but "the citizens couldn't get together and wouldn't get together" to secure it. About 1900 an effort was made to enlist the churches in a co-operative lecture course, but "they couldn't agree", and the venture failed. The nearest approach to concerted action of a considerable number has been in the cause of temperance, and yet it is said the greatest obstacle in the way of it is "the contrariness of some people". Attention has often been called to the unesthetic conditions everywhere in the town, but there seems to be no response by way of united efforts to beautify the place. Other towns and villages round about have taken a real interest in such work, but not so with Aton. As one attorney remarked, "Whatever touches the pocket books interests the people of Aton. They will get together on that if they have to, but not on anything else."

SECTION III. THE SOCIAL MIND

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL SURVIVALS: SOCIAL EGOTISM, SUPERSTITION, MAGIC

1. Social Egotism. There is seen in Aton a strong tendency to exalt itself in its own estimation, that may be termed social arrogance, "bumptiousness" or egotism. In the columns of the local papers, in platform utterances, and in the common talk of the people, this is much in evidence, though less manifest now than a decade ago. There is an idea that superior intelligence, morality, and religious devotion belongs to the group. It is believed the community is the cheapest place in which to live in the United States; that it is the most democratic; the most temperate; the most law-abiding; that its college is of peculiar merit, and its churches of unusual excellence. Its political stability is a matter of pride. Much is said of the beauty and healthfulness of the place in comparison with others. The region is thought to have the best climate, to be of superior fertility and productiveness. In general, Aton believes that it excels in many things or that it is able to do so, that it is greatly superior to other communities.

In a few instances there is rational ground for boasting, but in the main this is not so. There is no evidence of superior intelligence. The town is neither beautiful nor particularly healthful. It is a clean but homely and plain-looking place. The region is far from the most fertile; its

climate is severe, and its products of no peculiar merit. Partly because of these facts the county's population decreased nearly one thousand in the last decade.

This social egotism, however, is not without significance for the community and the individual. It is often utilized as a sort of shibboleth to good ends. For instance, certain institutions have been sustained largely by an appeal to it; as for example, the Aton Fair, and "Old Settler's Day". Again a prevailing anti-saloon sentiment has been to a degree maintained by the press, the pulpit, the platform, and the personal appeal to "show our superiority in morals". There is a saying in Aton about those who move away from the village: "Well, they will move back again." In a large majority of cases they do return. Besides a sort of homing instinct, it is apparent that the unusual social freedom and democracy of the community, so quickly missed elsewhere, is that which really brings them back. The prating, by those returning, of the glory of Aton, together with the mere fact that so many do come back, reacts upon the group to strengthen its egotism. From the suggestion that comes of this spirit in the group, the individual is likewise given a certain confidence and belief in himself, and a certain feeling of security and sureness in religious and political and moral ideas.

This egotism seems to be a survival of the primitive traits of groups and individuals, whose self-preservation depended on exalting their own importance, and exaggerating their place and ability, not only in their own eyes, but before others as well. The social mind revealed by it is provincial, and uncritical, of the ideo-emotional type.

2. Magic and Superstition. There are many survivals from the days of spiritualism in Aton, such as beliefs in strange sounds, dreams, sights and signs, as premonitions of good or ill fortune, death or calamity. The will of de-

parted ones is thus communicated. Many signs pertaining to death are respected. An empty chair must not be rocked lest there be a vacant chair in the home. It must not rain in an open grave, for if it does some one of the family will die within a year. A funeral procession must never pass over the same road twice, for it means death to another kinsman. None ever presume to go contrary to this belief.

Numerous supersitions and magical practices relating to fishing, work, and social intercourse are in vogue. If one spits on his bait he is sure to get a bite in fishing. This is a clear case of sympathetic magic. The first fish caught must always be kept or you will lose your luck. The average fisherman does not fail to honor this practice. The signs of the zodiac are pretty generally regarded with reference to this sport. Crops are planted with due respect to the signs. Potatoes, if planted in the old of the moon in June, yield abundantly; beans "will do nothing but blow", if planted in the light of the moon. Clover seed, when sown in the sign of the crab, is sure to strike deep root and thrive. A worm fence must be laid "when the moon is right", if it is to stand well. Soap should be made in the light of the moon, and stirred with a sassafras stick for good results. A visitor coming in one door and leaving by another will bring company; dropping a knife or fork at table will do the same. Thirteen must not sit down to dine or play together. Many calamities "are positively known to have resulted from this". If an umbrella is raised in the house or a hoe brought indoors, death is sure to follow. The breaking of a mirror is sure to bring great misfortune. To brag of good health or of luck is liable to result in the loss of them. A new piece of work or a journey must by no means be begun on Friday, for you will never live to finish it.

A great variety of signs concerning the weather prevail.

If a dog eats grass it will rain; if a hog makes a nest it will snow. Bubbles forming when it rains is a sign that "there will be a long spell of wet". Many of the weather signs are not without a rational basis in experience, but others are pure superstitions.

Not a few of these practices and beliefs are greatly respected, while others are taken as a joke. Only rarely is there a person found who does not have some superstitious notions or magical practices. The younger generations give far less serious heed to them than their fathers.

3. Child Magic is another class of magical practices, richly illustrated in Aton, though by no means peculiar to this village, that deserves special attention because of the light that may be thrown upon the genesis of magical arts in general. The nature of these practices can be disclosed best by citing a few examples. The habit of throwing stones at a mark, and attaching to the success or failure of the throw the issue of some more important event, is not uncommon. To illustrate: A boy habitually threw stones at a certain tree on his way to the cow-pasture believing that if he invariably hit the tree during the time he was within throwing distance of it, the cows would be at the gate when he should reach the pasture. He had great faith in this device as a means of bringing the cows to the desired spot, and never passed this tree upon his errand without resorting to the practice. Not unlike this was the custom of another lad to throw a jack-knife with the belief that if the knife stuck in a certain way the object of his desires would thereby be gained or lost as the case might be. A device for controlling the actions of persons consists in keeping one's mind continually upon the individual concerned and at the same time imitating his actions. This bit of imitative magic had had an important place in one boy's life. Events of great significance are believed to be governed in

some cases by one's most inconsequential acts. The election of President Harrison was brought about, according to the belief of one youth, in the following manner: He was accustomed to go in and out of a certain door, and he "felt" that if the door were opened and closed in a certain way each time, Harrison would be elected, but if it were done in the wrong way his defeat would be accomplished. This charm was worked persistently throughout the campaign. Money or valuable objects can be found by resorting to magic. For example, if, whenever a grey horse is seen, you touch the thumb of your right hand to the lips and then to the palm of the left hand, and in addition strike your right fist into your left palm, something valuable will turn up, when you have thus "spotted" a great number of grey horses. Quite like this is a device for finding anything lost. One, in such cases, should spit in the palm of the left hand and strike the fist of the right into the saliva. This is not only a means of "making the thing turn up", but its whereabouts will be indicated by the direction in which the saliva flies when struck. Counting is also a very common practice for the purpose of bringing to pass something desired. For instance if you are able to count five hundred while something of uncertain duration is happening your plan or wish will come to pass. If one fails in the count it too will fail. Similar to this is the practice of running for a distant object, while a bell, for instance, is ringing, with the success or failure of some cherished plan attached to the outcome of the run. To reach the goal before the concurrent event is over means that you have brought to pass the wish, but to come short of the goal means that it is lost.

The examples cited above sufficiently illustrate a class of magic that is found extensively among children. It may be called child magic, but it is by no means confined to chil-

dren. Not a few were found in Aton who confessed that in their mature years they resort to such practices. To be sure they do not have the validity to the mature person that they had to the child, but, nevertheless, "there's a feeling that someway there is something in them". Especially with the more neurotic temperaments these practices are found to be more common in childhood and more persistent and significant in mature years.

These practices are primarily individualistic and secret. Many of them are never communicated at all to others and never become social property. Now and then one that has been particularly effective in its working comes to light, and by example and imitation spreads and becomes the art of a group of children.

A further consideration of the significance of child magic with reference to the genesis of magic in general will be found in a later chapter (*cf. infra*, pp. 135-137).

CHAPTER II

CONFLICT

Few conflicts have arisen in Aton because of racial differences. The group has been what may be termed distinctly American, composed of races that have long dwelt together. The occasional Negro or Jew has so fitted into the social order that no antagonisms have resulted.

Family and neighborhood quarrels are not uncommon. In earlier days, it is evident, they were more numerous than now. Neighbors are in the habit of "falling out" over trivial matters, and holding a grudge against one another to-day.

Until about fifteen years ago pugilistic encounters were very common. Fights occurred with great frequency. *The Republican* gives evidence that in the seventies and eighties they were "so common as to be monotonous". There were "many bullies who were pitted against each other in combat". Often there was "so much brawling it was not safe to be upon the streets at night". It is said a fight could be seen most any day on the public square. Dances usually ended in "a free for all". Political discussions were settled by fist fights. The occasion of much of this physical encounter was excessive drinking. In the last decade fighting has practically ceased to exist.

Politics has been the occasion of much conflict, from the days of the Civil War till now. Just preceding the Rebellion there were a number of radical Abolitionists and equally radical Pro-slavery men in the village. The under-

ground railway had a station in Aton, and "did a good business". The Pro-slavery people watched their neighbors with vigilant eyes, and frequently brought them to justice. The court records show that prominent citizens were indicted "for harboring niggers". Since then politics has ever been the cause of friction. Political campaigns have engendered bitter animosities, and have been full of innuendo, personal abuse, and physical encounter. The Republican has looked upon his Democratic neighbors as "a rebel and ignoramus"; the Democrat has reciprocated by denouncing the Republican as "a grafter and corruptionist". Discussions usually lead to personal abuse. *The Republican* and *The Aton Herald* are always wrangling over politics, and not infrequently in a most bitter fashion. Although the more violent forms of encounter of earlier decades have given way to street-corner debates, heated controversies, and personal denunciations, the same political prejudice and intolerance still exists.

Not less than politics has religion ever led to antagonism in Aton. In the first period Orthodoxy and Free-thought clashed. On one occasion a famous debate took place between their advocates. In the seventies occurred a bitter discussion through the papers which excited much animosity. With the establishment of churches the conflict became interdenominational. Conflicts still go on over creedal questions. A revival meeting is never held without much bitterness arising among the churches. Baptism is invariably a bone of contention. Efforts at "sheep stealing" are common. Ministers are unable to affiliate. The town is divided into parties, having about as little dealing one with another religiously as Jews with Samaritans. Members of one church will say of another, "I wouldn't set a foot in that church", or "I wouldn't be a member of any church if I had to join that one".

Another mode of conflict has been the lawsuit. Early court records show a number of cases of slander and libel. In proportion to the population the number of such suits was then large as compared with the present. Trespass has been the most common cause of the lawsuit. Improved economic conditions have diminished conflicts of the legal kind. Then, too, it is a pretty general feeling that it is a disgrace to get into court. This would indicate an increased social feeling in a bit of moral pride in wishing to "be well thought of".

Other conflicts have been those of business. In times past competition was sharp, ill-tempered, and under-handed. A better spirit now exists, though there is still considerable jealousy and petty meanness between merchants and professional men.

As to rivalry in sports, the wrestling and shooting match was common in the early period. Physical contests have been relatively few. *The Republican* shows that ball games have been apt to end in fights.

The social mind revealed through conflict is seen to be marked by strong and persistent prejudices, bigotry, and jealousy. This would indicate a decidedly emotional type. A socializing process has operated to lessen the more violent expressions of it, and bring it under control.

CHAPTER III

IMITATION

Inter-group imitation is little in evidence in Aton. Being for a long time an isolated village, and having at no time any rivals, that inter-community copying so often seen in our Middle and Western States has been conspicuously absent in Aton. Only in recent years has there appeared any desire to imitate other towns. A few years ago it was being said: "Other towns have commercial clubs for promoting factories, why can't we have one?" Simultaneously it was learned that a neighboring town had in operation a merchants' delivery. Aton copied the same. Carnegie pipe-organs and libraries were being obtained by other places. This was a suggestion that "we can have them too", and as a result three churches have secured Carnegie pipe-organs within five years. The library proposition failed because of the inability of the citizens to agree. "Tag day" as a means of raising money for charity was copied from a neighboring village. These instances practically comprehend the extent of inter-group imitation in recent years.

Intra-group imitation has been more common. In the first and second periods many things go to show its prevalence, such as the copying of certain styles of houses and business blocks. It early became a fad to plant maple shade trees, and "everybody" did it. In recent years "big porches" have become a matter of imitation, and scores of them of quite the same design have been added to dwell-

ings. An old and numerous family began holding reunions; it suggested the idea to others until reunions have increased in geometrical ratio. The columns of the local papers are filled with notices of them throughout the summer season. In like manner postal-card showers have spread with amazing rapidity in five years. There is also much copying in the style of house furnishings and manner of arrangement.

Among the more critical and intellectual there is a strong desire to be different from the common herd. While conforming to fashions in general they don't want to have, and do "what's common". Among women, especially, in respect to dress you hear them say: "Oh, everybody wears that and I wouldn't have it for anything". In this there seems to be a sense of superiority; a desire for distinction or for preservation from being lost in the mass. In studying the people of Aton with this in mind, only a few of this type have been observed. The vast majority do not react against imitation though they become conscious of it. The conclusion is that only a very small percent are critically intellectual.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Social democracy prevails in Aton to a remarkable degree. There are neither classes nor class distinctions. No aristocracy or aristocratic tendencies are known. Neither wealth, blood, race, culture, nor profession confers any distinction upon the individual. The remark of a prominent citizen is absolutely true, that "if one is clean and half-way decent he can go into any home in Aton. Everybody is common." By common he meant equal socially. The people meet and mingle on a common level. The size of the community makes it possible for many to know everybody in it. As a result there is general neighborliness throughout the town. Intimate acquaintance among large numbers makes for much familiarity in social intercourse. There is no conventional society. People come together informally, and regard formality as "stuck up", uncivil and undemocratic. The unpretentious are most esteemed. Ostentation is frowned upon, and practically unknown. Snob-bishness will not be tolerated. Those who "put on airs" are objects of ridicule. "Swell dressing" is odious and rarely seen. Even the minister must dress informally.

The degree to which democracy prevails is illustrated in reference to marriage, where only the personal qualities are considered. For example, the daughter of the oldest, richest, and most respected family married a clerk in her father's store. The man was himself worthy but came of one of the most disreputable families of the community.

This case was not unusual, and excited no more than ordinary comment.

Domestic servants are always considered members of the family. One instance of "treatin' them as though they ain't as good because they have to work for a livin'", excited wide comment and criticism. No girl will work where she is considered on a different level than her mistress. Every woman in the town does her own work, if able, but if she hires help her "girl" is as good as her daughter. The girl who works in the laundry or clerks in the store may be much more the belle of the party than the banker's daughter. The personal elements are the determining ones.

In contrast to Aton, other nearby towns of practically the same demotic composition are far less democratic. In one instance in particular, a village of only about five hundred people, but with conditions otherwise similar to Aton, has a decidedly stratified society. It is an older and more isolated community than Aton. From an early period of its history an aristocratic class of cultured and thrifty people has kept itself distinct. You can't get into their society nor "touch them with a ten-foot pole", it is commonly said. The people of the two towns are conscious of a decided difference in their social ideals.

The democracy of Aton is invariably noted by the stranger, and its contrast to other places commented upon. One said: "I have never before been in such a democratic place." Another remarked: "It takes wealth to get into the best society in my town, but I see you have no social set here to get into." Those coming from elsewhere to reside in Aton are even more deeply impressed with its democracy. A minister of wide experience, after five years in the village, said: "It is exceedingly democratic. I have known nothing like it." Another pastor, of longer residence and wider experience, remarked: "The democracy

of this place is unique, not in kind but in degree." A college professor, after a decade in the town, declared it to be "the most thoroughly democratic place I have ever heard of or known."

The citizens of Aton are conscious of this social democracy and take pride in fostering and perpetuating it. Social pressure makes itself felt in its behalf, and is sufficiently strong to bring newcomers readily into line. A minister who had what was considered "aristocratic notions" was called to one of the churches. His conventional ways were met with rebuffs; they were a misfit in the free and informal society of the place. He was advised of his faults, and so he adapted his manners and ideas to the social order with remarkable celerity. He became thoroughly democratized. Many other instances of the operation of social pressure to bring about uniformity could be cited.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS STANDARDS

I. Doctrine. The church life of Aton has been marked by an interest in doctrine from the first. The denomination of Disciples has led in promoting it. Putting itself in opposition to all other sects, "their creed and practices", it has fostered an interest in dogma that would not otherwise exist. This sect has been imperialistic in its claims, denouncing all others as unchristian. The Authority and Inspiration of the Bible, Providence, The Judgment, The Divinity of Jesus, Church Unity, Proofs of the Christian Religion, The New Testament Creed are typical topics that have been much discussed, and are still the favorite subjects for sermons. The attacks of the Disciples upon "the sects" have been answered by counter attacks of "the sects" upon the Disciples. The outcome of it has been the development of a religious situation dominated by a spirit of narrow sectarianism and partisan bigotry and jealousy.

With the exception of the church named above, there has not been normally so much interest in doctrine. In this church, though, within the last five years the officials took a new pastor to task for his failure to preach doctrinal sermons. He was told that "mere morality" was not religion; that they wanted "doctrine and Our Plea". By this was meant attacking the other denominations, and accentuating the differences between the Disciples and all other religious bodies. The pastor was obliged to comply with their wishes.

Much dogmatism is found both among the laity and the clergy of the town. The discussions of the themes mentioned above have been characterized by dogmatic statements suffused with emotion. The emotional appeal to the unconverted is never wanting. Pulpit utterances have great authority. They are uncritically received by all, save a very few.

Religious innovations are tabu. Modern theology or liberalizing tendencies, though not at all understood by either clergy or laity, are greatly feared. Young men are discouraged from attending the State University or any other because they are "hot-beds of infidelity and irreligion". The "Higher Critics" are "agnostic, and destroyers of the faith". A lecturer from a great university, who chanced to make some observations on the liberalization of religion, was most scathingly denounced "as an evolutionist, and a dangerous man" in published articles and by many in private.

The religious group in general lays stress on right belief and the observance of church ordinances as the primary thing in religion. The moral and ethical side is less significant. The chief sin is "not confessing your faith and obeying the gospel". The "good moral man is just as bad before the Lord as the worst sinner". Other worldliness is the chief interest of the religious life on the part of all.

2. Standards of Conduct. For the church member these are strict in certain lines. Amusements, such as dancing, theater-going, and card-playing are particularly "harmful". Dancing is an especial evil. Many charity balls used to be held, but they have been eliminated through the refusal of the charity organizations to accept money secured in that way. In early days the dance was exceptionally immoral and degrading in Aton. The unusually persistent opposition to it on the part of the church seems to

have its basis in that fact. The standard is less strict concerning card-playing. Yet the history of that game has been not unlike that of the dance. It was once prevalent, but now rare. Only occasionally is a church member guilty of playing, and that to his great discredit in the eyes of people within and without the fold alike. Theater-going is not conventional among church people. It is "harmful amusement". A few practice it, however, and others reluctantly tolerate it. The Congregational church more than the others has countenanced these practices, and as a consequence is looked upon as "a mere social club with no religion to speak of anyhow".

Horse-racing is in disfavor. Pool halls must not be visited by religious men, neither should any church member be seen entering a saloon, for such things set an example "that hurts the church".

Sunday observance is much insisted upon. Church attendance, at least twice on Sunday, is demanded. It is a day of "spiritual works". He who deliberately chooses to work is a "Godless fellow and a heathen". Those whose employment compels Sunday labor are only considered unfortunate, and not sinful. Amusements on the Lord's day are forbidden. The play of children is curtailed. Hunting and fishing are decidedly wrong. A certain churchman who has frequently fished on Sundays, in the opinion of many, "ought to be turned out of church". Generally, only those who are wholly irreligious and who have little respect for themselves or their neighbors think of desecrating the day in these sports. This strict attitude is chiefly the outgrowth of an early effort of the religious group to maintain a day of rest, and to foster respect for the church, in a community largely given to Sunday hunting and fishing. Spending the day about the lakes in any manner is not proper Christian conduct. Much criticism

follows those who do it. This has recently become more unpopular with religious folks because of the convivial crowds that resort thither from distant places, and because church attendance is thereby curtailed.

From the first advent of churches in Aton to the present day these things have been rigidly opposed. The columns of *The Republican* have reflected the religious sentiment throughout the entire period. No perceptible change has taken place in it. An item of early days runs:

It is especially a sad commentary upon one's profession when anyone known as a church member joins in, or in any way countenances, the bad business of Sunday boating and fishing, Sunday card-parties, and Sunday ball-playing. All kinds, indeed, of Sunday desecration can only work harm, demoralization and evil to persons, families or communities that indulge in it.

Another item of recent issue says, of those who fish and work on Sunday: "Such conduct should never be construed as anything but a brazen and shameless spirit, and Christian men should protest against it." Sacred band-concerts were proposed for Sunday evenings, a few years ago, but the opposition of the churches was sufficiently strong to prevent them. Sunday driving and visiting is also disapproved.

There is great sensitiveness regarding "things sacred". In public speech or private conversation one must speak very reverently of things pertaining to the church or religion. Great offense has sometimes been given the community by innocent and amusing stories told by public entertainers relative to church practices.

For the minister requirements are more strict than for others. He must be liberal with his means, and set an example in giving. A good mixer is preferred to an able

pulpiteer. He must be cordial and friendly with all. Any failure in this is counted unchristian. If the preacher is a bit reserved, members "feel he's cool and probably heard something" about them. There is a general sensitiveness to personal attitudes. Partiality must not be shown. For groundless reasons people "fall out with the preacher and the church". On this account frequent changes of ministers are necessary. In three churches the average length of pastorate has been about one and a half years, in the Congregational a little over two and a half years, and in the Disciple church four years. The longest pastorate has been under eight years. The minister's family must not be extravagant; their every action is watched and severely criticised. In keeping with the democratic spirit of Aton no particular deference is paid the preacher or his office. It does not become a minister to take part in politics, nor to express his political convictions. The theater is forbidden him. He must not use tobacco in any form, nor be given to amusements.

Much coercion is used to bring about conformity to the standards of conduct. The discipline of the church is often resorted to even to-day. As one keen observer expressed it: "People are shocked here by the disapproval of wrong conduct, and they dare not do as they please". Many instances could be cited where individuals have confessed they came into the church because "everybody belonged, in Aton," or because "folks kept dinging away at me till I got tired". Others would do this or that "if it wasn't for the church", and "what people would say". It is evident, if the unusual pressure that is felt here were removed, many would freely indulge in forbidden things. In regard to business honesty, veracity, and general moral uprightness there is considerable laxity. The church does not interfere in this, however. As one minister said: "they

want their morals left alone". Often religion in Aton is only a nominal adherence to the church, or to a religious party. It is conformity to a custom, rather than devotion to vital ethical and moral ideals. That the religious institutions are supported financially by less than one-fourth of their adherents is indicative of a more formal than vital interest.

Withal, the religion of the four denominations of Aton is in general quite the same. It is a religion of self-denial, consisting mainly in refraining from the "things the world does". A like spirit of democracy and partisan zeal, and a similar austere outlook on life characterize all. There are, however, three types distinguishable. While no sharp lines of demarkation can be drawn, there is, to one intimately acquainted with Aton's church life, a slightly different emphasis in the three groups. Any description of this difference is likely to be misleading in that it unavoidably tends to an exaggeration of the real facts; but, bearing this in mind, it may be said that the Congregationalists are the most cultured, the most conventional, and the most inclined to liberal views of life, though their liberality is only slightly divergent from the general austerity and cannot be said to run to conviviality in any great degree. They are, however, looked upon as the "social class" of the village. Their type is of all the most pronounced. The Methodists and the United Brethren have no distinguishable differences, but taken together they form a type somewhat different from the others. They are the most emotional class and take the most pronounced attitude in opposition to "harmful amusements". They are characterized by a stronger *esprit de corps* than the others. They are the most austere. In contrast to the two types just described, the Disciples compose a class much more dogmatic, bigoted and intolerant. They too are austere, but not quite as

fanatical as the second type. Their religion is the more simple and rational.

The forces that have operated in the selection of these types are apparently, fundamentally, the traditional denominational "peculiarities" with their appeal to different types of minds. In no case has the economic status played a part in the selection, nor has the question of cultural attainment been at work. Temperamental inclination rather than outward conditions is responsible for the grouping. The Methodist and United Brethren churches have selected the most austere and fanatically inclined because of their emphasis on "experimental religion" and their denunciation of "worldliness". The Disciple denomination has drawn to itself those who were less emotional because they have positively denounced "the necessity or the possibility of the Holy Spirit conversion". Scores of those who have "sought religion and couldn't get it" at the Methodists' or the United Brethren's mourner's bench have been "made Christians in the scriptural way" by the Disciples. The Congregational church has selected the disgruntled members of the other denominations who have wanted more liberty in conduct. Its slightly convivial turn is due, in the main, to the influence of one minister of recent years whose appeal was directed to the "bum element", a few of whom became "brothers-in-law" to the congregation and put it in an unfavorable light before the other churches.

On the whole, it is evident from the analysis of the religious mind of Aton that it is predominantly of the dogmatic emotional type.

CHAPTER VI

ETHICAL STANDARDS

1. In Business. Ethical standards in this regard are much in advance of the early period of Aton's history. As late as the second period usury, extortion, false-weights, misrepresentation of goods, and competition, which stooped to personal abuse and the most underhanded methods, were more the rule than the exception. The type of business man was the "hard-fisted", unscrupulous dealer, as a rule, "who would cheat you as quick as he would look at you". A study of the leading merchants, bankers, lawyers and doctors, who held sway up to about twenty years ago, reveals the fact that they were of "disreputable character", who "would do anything for money". Innumerable instances are related of their crooked practices. Men of this type, and practices of this order, do not now prevail in Aton. Rarely is there complaint of short weights or cheating, and extortion is unheard of. Business is conducted on a strictly one-price basis. The business and the professional men are of a much higher moral type. A large majority of them are members of the churches. They bear no such reputations as their predecessors for dishonesty.

The type of ordinary citizen has evidently changed along with that of the merchant in business morals, though no such clear proof exists. To-day a blacklist of all dishonest men is kept by the business houses. For one to be upon this list is a disgrace, and a serious hindrance to him in any business transaction. This is a splendid agency of coercion

in the moral sphere. One who is not "good pay" loses the respect of the community. No criticism is given greater weight, when one's morals are being discussed, than "he don't pay his debts". Where advantage is taken of the law of bankruptcy to square with one's creditors, the applicant is branded a rascal, and the offense is never forgotten. The social mind in this regard is reflected in the remarks of a well-informed professional man who incidentally said: "Why, there have been ten cases of bankruptcy in this town in eighteen years. You couldn't find worse moral conditions than that anywhere in the United States." No distinction whatever was made between the fraudulent and unwilling bankrupt. The man who is crooked soon "loses out" in Aton. He who is honest, who promptly meets his obligations, honors his word, and is thrifty, is the most universally respected, and the one who is always pointed to as the ideal man. Petty speculation has meant social ostracism in one or two cases. A few instances of exorbitant charges for professional services have been widely denounced as "criminal", and it is with difficulty the offenders have been able to live down the offense.

The long memory of a provincial people characterizes the group. When a person is thought of his past is recalled; by it he is judged and his future prevised. So, any infraction of the moral code in commercial relations involves consequences that few dare ignore. The fear of censure, the dread of disgrace exert tremendous pressure to bring men to adopt the group's standards as their personal ones.

Such changes as have been noted are due in part to improved economic conditions. As one merchant put it: "People are more honest to-day because they can afford to be. They pay their debts better simply because they can." Moreover, the influence of the church has been important. Much credit must be given it for toning up morals. While

the church may not have stressed greatly the ethical teachings of Christianity with reference to business honesty, nevertheless, with the more stable class of people, there is a feeling of incongruity between their profession and "crooked business". This feeling is strong in Aton, and as a consequence, as great numbers have come into the church, morals have improved. Many instances of avowed reformation can be cited. Speaking of a revival of many years ago, *The Republican* said:

We believe that the revival which has been in progress in the West Church has had a beneficial effect on *The Republican* as well as on the moral conditions of our town generally. We have received more considerate attention and squaring-up of old arrearages by some of our delinquents lately than has ever been the case heretofore. The meeting struck some of the right kind of subjects to inure to our advantage; for which we are devoutly thankful to proper sources. We trust the good work has not exhausted itself.

A gradual reformation has paralleled the growth of the churches.

2. In Sexual Relations. The prevalence of very low standards in the first period has been suggested in earlier chapters. The common moral code was repudiated. Men frequently traded wives for a season. Women took delight in flaunting their disregard of marital vows, and openly declaring their "right to choose the fathers of their children regardless of marriage." In 1865 the leading attorney of Aton said, he knew there wasn't a virtuous woman in the village. This was doubtless extreme, but it must be remembered that this was the heyday of a free-love religion. Public dances were numerous in that day; and were drunken debauches and Saturnalian revelries. At one of them since 1870 a child was born upon the dancing floor. The revelry, it is said, was not halted by the incident.

The Republican gives proof that houses of prostitution flourished from an early date. In the fifties it said: "Intemperance and vice stalks through the streets at noonday, while darker and more dangerous things are evident at night." Public opinion was overwhelmingly in their support at that time. It was not until in the eighties that an effective fight was made against them. Under the heading "Bounce the Blonds" the paper said:

The unenviable reputation of Aton of being a town where vice runs rampant, and where one's sense of modesty and decency is shocked daily, is well founded. It is indeed a town where "houses of women" can be established on the public square and where members parade the streets with most brazen effrontery; a town where drunken brawls and street fights are of frequent occurrence, and where ladies are insulted as they sit in their own doorways.

Standards of decency had now arisen, and public sentiment was in their favor to such a degree that in a half-dozen years the community was purged of public vice. Since then it has not been tolerated.

Physicans testified that thirty years ago venereal diseases were very common. To-day such cases are rare. Court records show but four cases of adultery in the last decade. This, however, would signify little, since so many things govern the prosecution of such offenses. But three cases of bastardy are known to have occurred in the last six years.

Those upon whom any suspicion of wrong rests, are shunned by the self-respecting. The girl who is in the least immodest, forward or "flirty" stands in the gravest danger of "bein' talked about" and "loosin' her reputation". The licentious man quickly loses standing. A man of such reputation was running for county office. He was

not a resident of Aton, but sentiment became so strong against him in the village that only by the most heroic efforts was he pulled through on a margin of seventeen votes, though his ticket won by its usual majority. Cases of infraction of the sexual code coming under the authority of the church are dealt with publicly. The discipline is kindly, but those proving incorrigible are dismissed publicly from fellowship.

3. Temperance. The grossest intemperance reigned in Aton from the earliest days. From its first issue *The Republican* furnished much proof of this. Many of the older citizens said: "Drunkenness used to be something awful here". But few men in the village abstained from the use of liquor. One incident lingers in the memory of people which will serve to show the extent of drinking. A banquet was tendered by a convivial Jewish merchant to all the men of the town in celebration of a piece of good fortune. Liquor was served in liberal quantities, and all but four men got drunk. The banquet tables were upturned, and "the town painted red". This "Cross-eyed-Jew affair", as it is familiarly known, was literally a community drunk. As late as 1885 scarcely a business man hesitated to go to the saloon and drink and treat his customers. Now, with rare exceptions, are any found who dare to enter a saloon on a business errand, to say nothing of drinking. To do so invites suspicion and severe criticism. The attorney who defends the violator of the liquor law is severely censured. Liquor would be tolerated at no public function. A few cases where it is brought to homes in private packages are looked upon as "disgraceful practices for respectable people". The occasional drinker is not considered a worthy citizen, and few will repose confidence in him. The young man who dares to drink loses the esteem of "right-thinking people", and is "a nobody". No church member would think of using liquor as a beverage.

The rise and development of this standard runs parallel with that of the church, which has persistently fought intemperance and the saloon. Record is found of temperance lectures held during the sixties in the churches. In the next decade several temperance revivals were held by the "Red Ribboners" and the "White Ribboners". At one of these meetings in 1873 about two hundred signed the pledge of total abstinence; in 1877 over four hundred signed it. *The Republican* reported that "most of the town drunks became temperance reformers for the time being". Two years later another revival brought over two hundred converts. It is said most of them were backsliders from previous meetings. At a later date over seven hundred "got on to the water wagon" during a week of temperance preaching. Evidently few permanent results were thus gained. In 1888 a committee of citizens was organized to fight saloons, and succeeded in revoking all licenses. Two years later *The Republican* comments that Aton for the first time in its history was showing signs of real temperance. Since that date the temperance element has steadily grown. The newspapers have been a constant stimulus to this growth, and one of the chief moulders of public opinion against the saloons. For the greater part of a decade Aton has been a "dry town". Many of the convivial element are coerced by public sentiment into the support of temperance.

4. Regard for Law. Something has already been said of the lawlessness that once prevailed in Aton. There was so much fighting and brawling, and general disregard for the liquor laws, to say nothing of more important ones, that it was justly known as a "tough place". While Sunday laws were respected in other communities Aton generally disregarded them. Many of the oldest citizens well remember the time when "everybody went hunting and fish-

ing of Sundays". There was no social conscience against "doin' as you pleased, so you didn't get caught". It has already been shown how to-day general regard is had for the day of rest. Brawling, fighting and general disturbance of the peace are no longer known. Liquor laws are pretty strictly complied with. Great stigma attaches to the infraction of any law. The average citizen would feel himself disgraced if fined for the violation of a city ordinance. He would feel himself a criminal. However, many wouldn't hesitate to disregard the ordinances if it were not "for fear of getting caught".

Formerly men didn't mind being sued for debt, but now there is so much disgrace attached to it that a threat of suit is usually sufficient. The change of attitude toward law is well illustrated in regard to the fish laws. From earliest times the settlers had free and unrestrained access to the lakes at all seasons to fish as they pleased. They regarded it as a natural and inalienable right; and when laws for the protection of fish were enacted, it was felt in Aton that they were entirely unneeded, and unjust restrictions of liberty. Everybody considered it proper to violate them "just so you were not caught and pinched for it". In course of time, as these laws have been enforced, there has been generated a conscience with respect to them. While not a few will secretly ignore the law if it can be done with impunity, many feel a sense of wrong in so doing. An offender is an immoral man, guilty of crime in the estimation of a considerable number. Two prominent citizens were arrested for the merest technical violation of which they were ignorant. Their case was much discussed, especially in church circles to which they belonged. The men themselves felt they had done serious wrong, and tried to keep it as quiet as possible. Withal a wholesome respect for law now dominates.

The social mind is disclosed in the kind of laws public opinion supports. It is already apparent, from preceding paragraphs that in Aton strict temperance and Sunday observance enactments are approved. In like manner laws against gambling and betting are supported. This is not the case, however, concerning sanitary regulations and pure food statutes. They are looked upon as "pieces of tomfoolery". The fish laws of Indiana are sane, and wisely provide for the conservation of the supply. But these laws are unpopular. The majority want to fish when they please and in "any way to get 'em". These "hog fishermen" take no thought for the protection of the fish, and regard measures having that in view as the work of "city sports who want everything for themselves". The "County ditch law", which compels co-operation in the drainage of wet lands, when any party petitions for the same, is also unpopular, though it is an excellent means of public improvement. A state Accounting Board, which has for its object the forestalling of "public steals", is a means of protection for the taxpayer, but it is opposed in Aton. In like manner an insurance law, enforcing uniform rates is considered unnecessary. Another measure raising the standard of efficiency for public school teachers with wages fixed accordingly, is denounced as "robbery of the people, when our schools are plenty good enough".

These cases suffice to illustrate the general attitude of public opinion in the community regarding progressive legislation. Law is almost always in advance of it except on moral questions. A non-progressive and conservative type of mind is thus revealed.

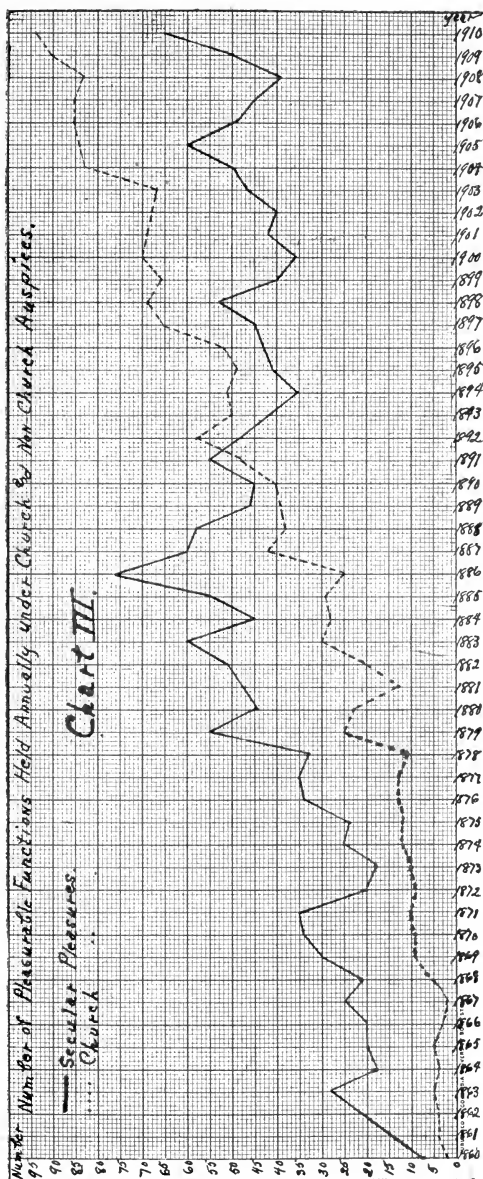
CHAPTER VII

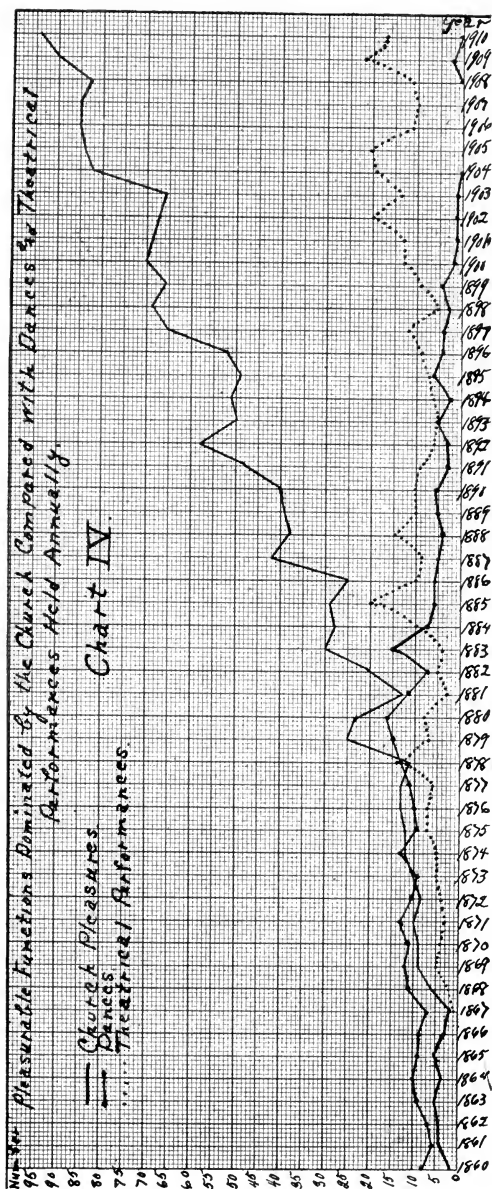
FORCES DETERMINING SOCIAL PLEASURES

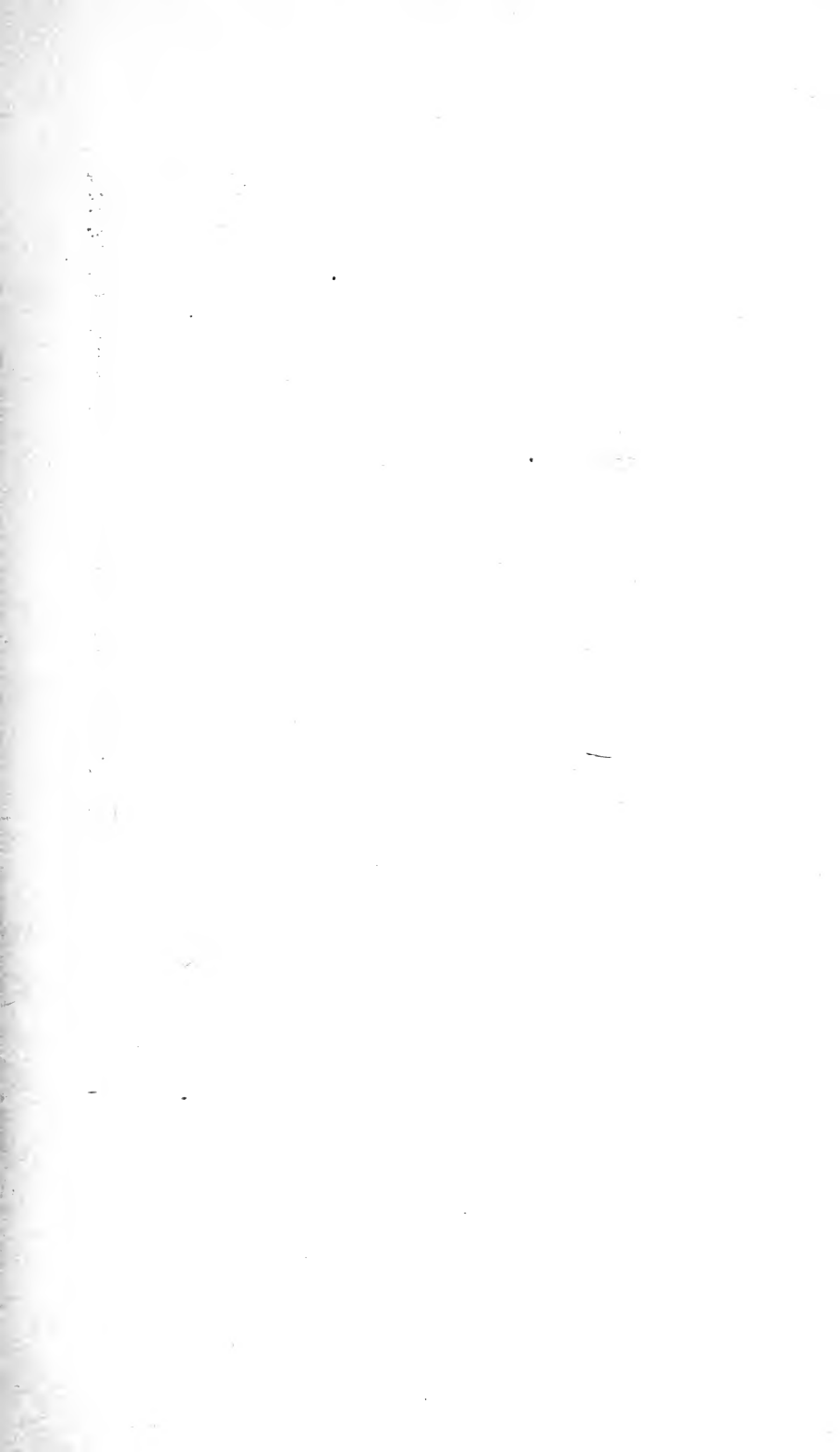
In studying social pleasures the chief source of information has been *The Republican*, of which the file is complete from 1860 to 1910. There have been four changes of editorship in this time, yet a consistent policy has been maintained throughout. This policy is again and again avowed to be: "To print all the news". It is evident that practically all social functions have been reflected in its columns.

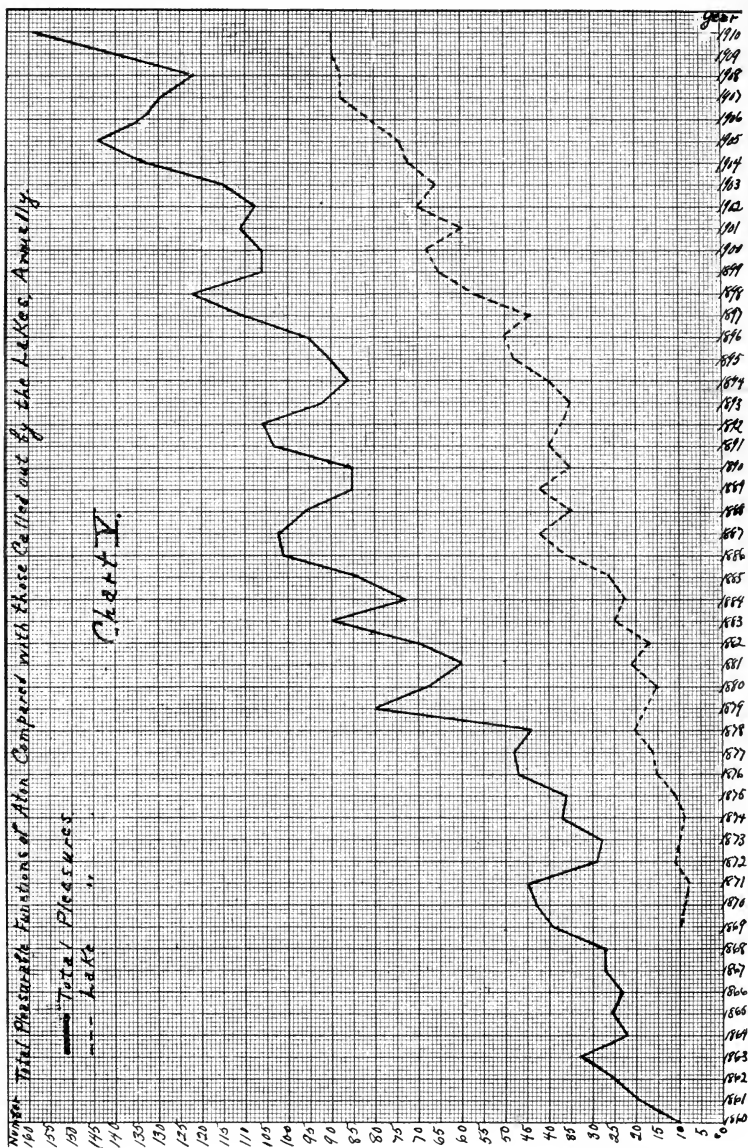
As the individual more truly expresses himself in his pleasures than in his work, the pleasurable activities of a people are the best revealers of the social mind. Such activities not only portray the sociological types of Aton, but to a degree its social evolution as well.

Two things have played a large part in shaping the pleasures of Aton: they are the physical environment and the church. In Chart III the influence of the church is seen in the two curves, representing respectively the total number of pleasures of all sorts conducted year by year by the church and those by organizations and individuals apart from the church. Since 1891 the church curve has ascended rapidly above the secular curve. These curves very correctly represent the process of evolution through which Aton has passed in its social life. Chart IV shows the relationship of the dance and the theater to the church curve. It will be observed that the dance has gradually diminished with the rise of the church until it has almost disappeared.









A like influence has been exerted on card-playing though it cannot be graphically shown. The theater curve does not show a very close correlation with the church and yet till recently it has been depressed by the latter. Other pleasures have been curbed in a similar manner by the church.

Chart V shows the relation of the pleasures stimulated by the environment to the total pleasures of the community as nearly as they can be measured. The lake curve, like others, is plotted on the data furnished by *The Republican*, but this by no means adequately reflects the amount of such pleasures. It is much greater than indicated, for as it is commonly said throughout more than half the year "there's nothing doing in Aton but going to the lakes". From the earliest days they have been the most important source of amusement. The region is probably unexcelled in America for its beautiful bodies of water, offering opportunities for amusement at all seasons of the year. There has been a growing appreciation and utilization of them as the improving economic conditions of the community gave leisure and means. Thirty years ago a regular and organized response to the stimuli offered by the lakes began. Its growth is seen in the increasing investments in cottages, boats, launches, etc. In 1885 there were twenty-three cottages on the lakes about Aton. Now there are over three hundred, with property exceeding a quarter of a million of dollars, 76 per cent of which is owned by Aton people. There are no amusement parks; the response is wholly to the natural environment with its opportunities for fishing, boating, swimming, skating, hill-climbing, etc. The type of pleasure is a mingling of receptive sensation, physical, and emotional ideation.

Aton, as already seen, has experienced no periods of sudden prosperity, and as a result no radical changes have

taken place in her amusements. Economic conditions have not fostered extensive self-indulgence, and with strong counteracting forces there has been a steady development toward a self-denying and austere type.

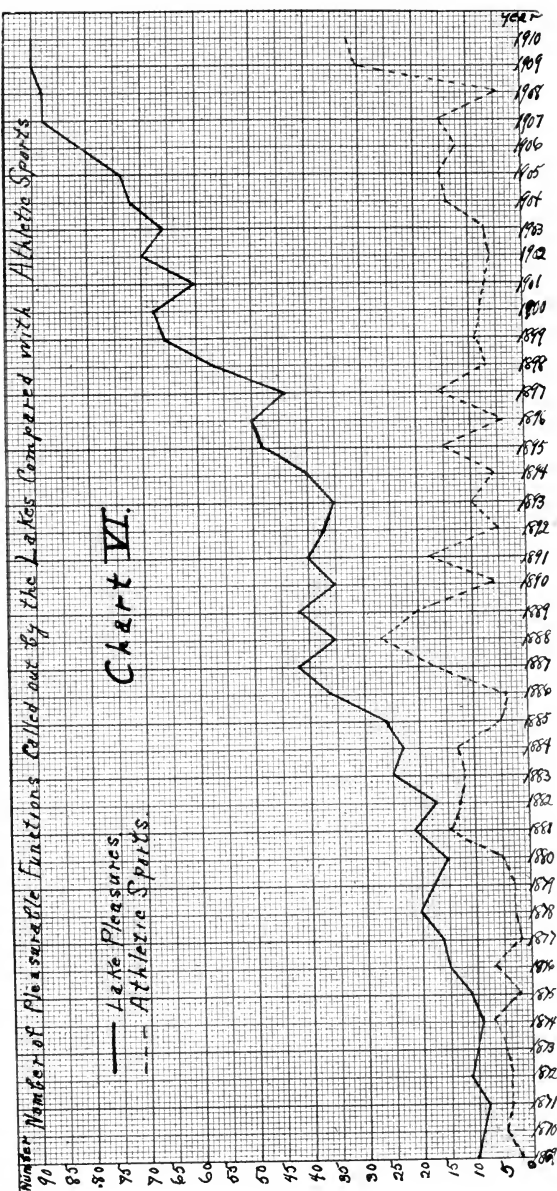
CHAPTER VIII

PLEASURES OF PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

Until the second period of Aton's history pleasures of this sort were entirely unorganized. Moreover, they were of a decidedly forceful character, marked by much rude horse-play, demonstrations of personal prowess, and crude rivalry. Log-rollings and barn-raising were common in the pioneer days. In the fifties and sixties running, wrestling, jumping, and not infrequently fighting for pleasure prevailed. The favorite sport was pitching quoits. Frequent mentions are found of this in *The Republican*. Several old citizens said: "We all pitched quoits then when there wasn't anything else to do". This is still a common pastime throughout the country, and a group of men and boys may be seen almost any time in a spirited contest in a back alley or a public street in Aton. The sensation of rivalry enters as a considerable element in this.

Organized physical sports appeared with the second period. Table XXII shows the number of such organizations and the years of their activity. It is seen that they have been very limited and intermittent. A sustained interest in any one is not evident. In 1888 to 1890 there was a base-ball craze. A ball park was fitted up at considerable expense, and much enthusiasm was manifested for a couple of years. *The Republican* reports eleven hundred people at one game. Since that craze has subsided, interest has revived now and then for a year or two, but in no degree comparable to the first. From 1884 to 1886 there was a





roller skating craze, which led to the building of a rink. For the time it was "all the rage", and then passed completely. Again in 1905 and 1906 it was revived; two skating halls were fitted up, which received a liberal patronage, chiefly of children, for a few months. The church strenuously opposed it on the ground that "it is no better than dancing, and only a low-down class attends such things". This opposition soon curtailed the patronage of the halls.

Chart VI shows the curve of athletic sports. A glance at it impresses one with the little part these pleasures have had in Aton. The absence of many track and field sports and the lack of enthusiasm for them is rather unusual. The question of cause will be reserved for Part II.

Under this classification it seems proper to include lake sports, inasmuch as the physical side predominates in many of them. In Chart VI the relation of such sports to those not called out by the lakes may be seen. Swimming, rowing, fishing, and skating comprise the chief sports of this class. However, a considerable amount of physical activity is involved in most all resorting at the lakes.

Until recent years the male population of Aton freely indulged in fish spearing. In the spring and fall seasons the lakes would be literally ablaze at night with fishing torches. In "olden days" the wood-jack filled with dry hickory bark, that the crew had spent many a day in gathering for the season, and in later years the gasoline lamp illuminated the waters for the pursuit of the finny tribe. It was a royal sport, as strenuous as fascinating. Tales of those days, that are often told, are the favorite ones, and indicate the charm of the sport. While the pleasure of receptive sensation was probably dominant in this, the physical side was scarcely less attractive, with its challenge to skilful paddling, spearing, and the test of endurance. For fifteen years legal restrictions have made this pleasure a thing of the past.

CHAPTER IX

PLEASURES OF RECEPTIVE SENSATION

Here again the environment has afforded unusual opportunities for pleasure in the lakes. The greater part of the response to them is unorganized, consisting of outings, picnics, boating and fishing. With access to the favorite lakes made easy by electric lines, the recreation of a very large percent of the community is thus afforded at the present time. Those who are unable to own cottages may rent them cheaply. A camping trip is thus within the reach of nearly all; and there are but few families that do not spend some time in an outing during each year.

Table XXIII gives the organized lake clubs. The period of their greatest activity is coincident with that of Aton's greatest prosperity. Those who have become modestly prosperous have indulged themselves in the pleasures of the lakes rather than in fine houses, dress, equipages, and social functions. People are more interested in having a cottage or a launch on the lakes than in these other things.

Social functions, such as dinners, receptions, and parties, began in the sixties. For the first period and the second they were quite common. Several men of that day delighted to give public receptions to the whole town. Old citizens recall such occasions, and observe: "We have nothing like them now". Those given by the leading founder of the town are especially remembered "for everybody went to them". In the third period the number of parties, receptions and dinners has increased considerably. The most

of them are held under church auspices. All are informal and unostentatious. There is no "polite society" in Aton, and no social rivalries or efforts at display are ever known.

About 1895 pretty general interest became manifest in beautifying surroundings, such as house painting and lawn mowing. This has spread until ninety per cent of the properties are well-kept. Imitation has played a part in this, linked quite often with pride in having a more attractive place than some neighbor. Sleigh-riding was a popular winter pleasure in early days, and is still in vogue. Since 1900 the automobile has become the rage with a few. At present there are twenty-five owned in Aton. "It's all right for those who can afford them, but some folks had better pay their debts and own a home before an automobile", is a comment often heard. Frugal ideas and habits generally prevail against such temptations. No instances of excessive indulgences in particular pleasures of any sort on the part of many people have been known in the third period.

Political campaigns have always afforded much pleasure in Aton. Since about 1858 they have been intensely exciting, and attended with many demonstrations. Particularly since 1868 political rallies, parades, torch-light processions, jollifications, etc., have been numerous. Great crowds have gathered in the village on these occasions and have indulged in all sorts of gayety. Each party has striven to outdo the other with its crowd, noise, and display. On one occasion over three hundred women carried torches in a great Republican parade. The last two campaigns showed a lessening interest in these things. Fourth of July celebrations were almost annual events in the first and second periods, but in the last period only three have been held, the last one eighteen years ago.

Table XXIV indicates the organized pleasures of recep-

tive sensation. For thirty-seven seasons the Aton Fair has been held. Old Settlers' Day and Decoration Day have been for a long period the great holidays of each year. On these occasions the population of Aton turns out *en masse*, all kinds of entertainment is provided, and people mingle in good fellowship and hearty enjoyment. The latter day has been of a rather solemn nature; the more hilarious amusements have been suppressed. Once or twice proposed ball games have been prohibited. A growing feature of this day in the last period has been the use of ceremonialism. Numerous organizations are led in parade by the G. A. R., the mound in the public square is set with two hundred and thirty-eight memorials in honor of the unknown graves of the victims of the Civil War, and flowers are solemnly strewn as the roster of the dead is called. To the people of the village this is an impressive event. Its annual repetition does not lessen its significance; it is viewed as "a sacred duty", and the spot dedicated to it has become hallowed ground. Second only to this in the use of elaborate ritual and parade, and in interest to the community is Odd Fellow's Decoration. "Fair-week" in town and country alike is regarded as a time for "meetin' old friends and neighbors, and seein' folks you never see except at the Fair." Aside from the displays of live-stock, farm products, machinery, merchandise, etc., horse-racing has always been an important feature. The last two seasons a driving club of some half-dozen members has held a few races, but only a few were interested.

Dramatic pleasure received considerable attention in the last decade of the first and throughout the second period. Most of the shows were given by local talent, and were crude affairs. Such plays as "Handy Andy", "Ten Nights in a Bar-room", and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" were the favorites. In 1893 the Aton Opera House was built. The

theater curve did not respond quickly to its influences, however. The class of entertainments furnished was of a low order. In the last decade a better class of performances has been provided. Local talent plays have given way to traveling troupes. Under the influence of remodeling the Opera House last year the curve has risen to its highest point. Two years ago the moving-picture shows made their advent in Aton. There are now two of them. They have come rapidly into favor with all classes. An evening of cheap and wholesome entertainment is thus afforded many whole families. Most of the pictures are representations of the ludicrous and the pathetic.

One evening of each week during summer, throughout the last two decades, a band concert has been given on the public square. On these evenings large numbers of people come out. Since 1888 these concerts have been regularly held, and have given occasion for general sociability. Musical concerts have not been numerous, and are confined chiefly to the third period. For the most part the churches and college societies have provided them. There is but little interest taken in music in Aton; and very little musical talent has ever appeared in the population.

The prevalence of dancing as well as card-playing in the first and second periods has yielded to religion. While three card clubs now exist, they have a very small membership, chiefly of non-church people.

The numerous social clubs of the table are mainly of recent formation. Nearly all are composed only of women and girls. Some meet but annually; others only occasionally, while a few hold regular monthly or weekly meetings. These clubs are purely social in their nature, representing small congenial groups who meet to gossip, to play "innocent games", and occasionally to dine. In keeping with the community life in general their association is informal.

CHAPTER X

PLEASURES OF EMOTIONAL IDEATION

Religion offers the main pleasure of this sort. Already much has been said of the religious life of Aton, and but little needs to be added. The spiritualistic seance prevailed throughout the first period and well into the second. With the advent of churches, at the opening of the second period, regular church services began to be held. From that date on to the present revival meetings have been annual occurrences (*cf. infra*, p. 144). Often several were held each year. At times the Disciples have held as high as five. "Big meetings" are the great events of the winter season. Often from eight to twelve weeks are given to them by the several churches. Throngs of people attend them, usually overtaxing the capacity of the buildings, and not infrequently being turned away for want of standing room. During these "seasons of revival" religion is "all the talk of the town", business is curtailed and other affairs postponed in its interest. The climax in revivals was reached when in the Summer of 1909 the Disciples erected a large tabernacle, capable of seating nearly two thousand people, and called a noted evangelist for a month's meeting. Night after night and often by day this building was crowded. An excessively emotional experience is not cultivated by this denomination, but this revival was of a most irrational and sensational kind. Every effort was made, by the use of suggestion in music, speech, action and stage setting to turn the audience into "the crowd" where all the phe-

nomena of crowd psychology might occur. It gave the community a month of emotional debauchery. Those who attended regularly came under the spell of the evangelist, and even the most critical were swept off their feet. By way of illustration of a typical reaction to the meeting, an ex-judge of the court, who attended every service, under its influence wrote:

I have seen the grandeur of Niagara Falls; I have stood on the summit of Pike's Peak, and swept the horizon of marvelous sights; I have stood near the greatest of geysers when in action and felt the earth tremble as though giving birth to a volcano; I have stood on the shores of the Pacific ocean and seen its great swells break into surf; but none of these impressed me as the man of God, his lips aflame with the fire that burns on the altar of Hermes, calling sinners to repentance, and then to see the people streaming down the aisles to confess Jesus of Nazareth as their savior. This is the grandest and most overwhelming sight I have ever beheld.

This very well indicates the usual enjoyment the revival gives in Aton.

From the beginning of church activities to the present the type of religion has not changed. It is decidedly austere. Aside from other evidence this is evinced in the missionary contributions exhibited in Table XVIII. The regular worship of all the churches is informal and non-ritualistic even to the extent that dignity is sacrificed on many occasions. While three churches have pipe-organs costing three thousand dollars each, almost no money is expended on church music. The choirs and usually the organist are voluntary. The music is almost exclusively of a lively, highly rhythmical sort. The "ragtime" air is more in favor than the classic hymns. The sermon is the main feature of the service. An emotional address is

wanted. The unimpassioned sermon is not liked, and the carefully written and read address would not be tolerated at all. The more fluent and dramatic the pulpiteer the better he is liked.

Aside from religion, pleasures of the sort under discussion have been frequently furnished by cases in court. Divorce suits of a sensational nature attracted no little attention in the last decade of the first period. In later years damage cases and murder trials have furnished weeks of entertainment for a thronged court room.

TABLE XXV
THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF ATON

Name.	Year Formed.	Charter Members.	Present Members.
Masons	1857	9	168
Masons Chapter.....	1865	9	134
Masons Council	1867	9	70
Eastern Star.....	1888	20	131
Odd Fellows.	1857	9	208
Rebeccas.....	1869	18	140
G. A. R.	1867	23	100
W. R. C.....	1885	22	40
K. of P.....	1889	23	190
Maccabees	1891	20	66
Ben Hurs	1895	20	38
Woodmen	1898	16	80
Elk's Stag.....	1907	20	45

The second most important source of pleasure of emotional ideation has been the lodge. Table XXV shows their extent. From an early date they were well supported. Between the church and lodge no conflicts have ever arisen in Aton. In the first period and lasting into the second there was, however, in the community a strong anti-Masonic and anti-secret-society sentiment and organization. There were some radical champions of the cause. As near as can be determined the idea was brought into the village

by some of the early pioneers from Western New York. This sentiment is no longer found in the town.

These lodges form the chief source of pleasure for a number of people. There some people form a class which is found in all the lodges to which access is possible. It composes about twenty-five per cent of the total lodge membership or around seventy individuals. They are the mainstays of these institutions, for the majority seldom participate except on special occasions.

CHAPTER XI

PLEASURES OF IDEATION

Evidences of pleasures of this sort are few prior to the second period. Now and then there was a lecture or a school exhibition, but nothing more. The second period brought forth a school literary society, and later a Chautauqua circle. During this period the spelling school was much in vogue. In 1874 there was a mania for this amusement. It is clear that the rivalry of "the match" was the chief element in it. "Ye old tyme spelling schule" is almost always an annual event to-day, in which the older generation takes special delight.

Table XXVI gives the organizations devoted to pleasures of the kind under discussion. They are mostly confined to the third period, and are largely due to the stimulus of the local college. The two college literary societies are popular organizations. Their weekly meetings are attended by many of the young people of the town. The four study clubs, all except one of which are composed of women, have devoted their work chiefly to history and travel, in weekly or monthly meetings during the winter seasons only. Two of these clubs have had a real interest in study and mental development. The other two have subordinated literary work to "spreads" and "social hours". The total number included in these organizations has not exceeded sixty people. The Sorosis and Magazine circles are reading clubs. The former succeeded the Chautauqua club. This circle maintains the only library and reading

room in the village. Its rooms are open once a week to members, of which there are sixty-five enrolled. Its library has eight hundred volumes exclusively of standard fiction and popular novels, with the exception of a few dozen reference works. The Magazine club is an association for the purpose of securing a number of popular monthlies at cheap rates.

The Lecture Course Committee since 1896 has provided an annual course of entertainments. Before the advent of this Committee a lecture course had been held in 1879 and 1880. *The Republican* of 1879 said of the effort: "The lecture course has been successful and good". Among the lecturers of that year was Wendell Phillips. After 1880 it was not until 1896, when one of the churches took it up, that a regular course was maintained. Since then from \$500 to \$900 is expended each year on six or seven numbers, of lectures, impersonations, and concerts. The popularity of the course is reflected in the following item from the local paper of 1899: "Tickets for the lecture course were placed on sale Monday morning. There are 700 seats in the Opera House, and over 600 were taken by 8:30 o'clock. No more tickets are now to be had. Calls for 300 more than the house would hold have already come in." The full capacity of the house has usually been sold until the present year, when the course was poorly patronized, and a financial failure. The cause for it was given by the committee when it said: "We have had so much of the best talent in the country that the people of Aton have got tired of hearing." This seems indeed to be the case, for the price of a dollar or two dollars at most for the season has not been the consideration. Many are heard to remark, "The Lecture Course has got to be an old story." Aside from a real interest in the entertainments themselves, many have gone because "everybody was going"

or because it was "the swell affair" of the winter. They have returned to discuss "who was there and who they were with, and what they had on" more than the merits of the program itself.

It should be noted that the orator is held in high esteem in Aton. The greatest men are those who are at home on the platform and "good talkers". The ability of men is apt to be measured by their fluency of speech. The lecturer using a manuscript is branded a failure.

The greater part of the pleasures of Ideation enjoyed by the population of the village consists in reading current literature. However, it is impossible to measure adequately the quantity and quality of such reading. There is no public library, and not many have more than a few dozen volumes in private. General acquaintance with the people on the part of the writer is the basis for the opinion that very little reading is done of any works except of popular novels and current periodicals. The extent of the latter is hinted at in a statement made by a representative of a Chicago daily, who was compiling data for his paper in the towns of Indiana. He said: "More pages of current reading matter are circulated in Aton than in any other town of its size in the state." An effort to secure facts has resulted in Table XXVII, based on estimates made by the postmaster of the literature passing through the office for the present year, supplemented by the average monthly sales of the news agents. It is estimated that about 10 per cent of the magazines are publications of the highest class. The dailies and local weeklies reach nearly every home in town; and the reading of a large percent of the population is confined to them.

From the above survey it is clear that the pleasures of inductive ideation do not have so large a place as the presence of a college would suggest. However, the influence

of this institution is not wanting in this sphere. Probably the wide reading of current literature is to be attributed in part to it. Certainly the maintenance of a strong lecture course for so long a period is due largely to the college influence.

Withal, from the analysis of social pleasures, it is obvious that those of Emotional Ideation and Receptive Sensation predominate. They have rapidly increased in comparison with Physical pleasures and those of Inductive Ideation.

From the foregoing study of the social mind it is evident that a well-defined process of evolution has taken place in

TABLE XXVII
CIRCULATION OF CURRENT PERIODICALS IN ATON

Daily Papers.	Weekly Papers.		Weekly Magazines.	Monthly Magazines.
860	Farm, 115 Stock, 100 Local papers, 1320 Other weekly newspapers, 250		Magazines, 133 Church periodicals, 150	Five cent magazine, 100 Others, 453

the type of disposition, character, and mind found in Aton. The dominant type of the first period was aggressive and instigative in disposition; forceful and convivial in character; and of the ideo-emotional mind. The present period exhibits a prevailing type of domineering dispositions, austere characters, and dogmatic-emotional minds. The first period was marked by sympathetic like-mindedness while the present has more of dogmatic like-mindedness. That is to say, in place of a preponderance of impulsive and sympathetic action there has come to prevail strong partisanship, reform agitation, and a general conservative atti-

tude. A wide interest in temperance reform, a ready acceptance of religious dogma and political party dictum, strong sectarian and political prejudices, with marked conservatism and respect for tradition and custom are the present-day revelators of the social mind.

The percentage of population in each of the two character classes may be roughly estimated. Taking the church membership, which with few exceptions may be counted austere, as the basis of our calculation, we are not overestimating this class at about 80 per cent of the community. The remaining 20 per cent of convivial people find themselves circumscribed by the preponderance of the austere group. They are, however, as decidedly partisan in their adherence to "personal liberty" as the austere class is against it. Recently the spirit of a number of men has been completely broken through the defeat of saloons, not because of their needs so much as on account of the worsting of their cause.



PART II
SOCIAL CAUSATION

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF MAGIC

In the chapter devoted to Social Survivals: Magic, Superstition (*cf. supra*, pp. 84-86), child magic as found in Aton was discussed. From the study of these practices attention was drawn to their bearing on the origin of magic in general, which will be briefly touched upon in this chapter.

If it be true that the individual in the course of his development recapitulates the history of the race, why not, then, seek in the unfolding of his mental life the origin of magic? But, whether we accept the recapitulation theory or not, the limited study of child magic in Aton gives evidence that it has its genesis in "the natural reactions of the psychophysical organism." The illustrations given in the chapter cited above seem clearly to demonstrate this, and to give confirmation in the main to the theory advanced by Professor Irving King in his work *The Development of Religion*. With reference to practices of imitative magic Professor King says:

In innumerable cases they can be shown to be primarily the natural reaction of the psychophysical organism, almost its mechanical reflex, in situations of strain or relaxation, or to such conditions as require practical adjustments of some sort. In other words, they are the natural overflow of the organism toward its naively-conceived world.¹

Many of the instances that seem to be based upon a theory of like producing like can be explained as purely spontaneous

¹ *The Development of Religion* by Irving King, pp. 179, 180.
577] 135

reactions, frequently the outcome of situations of emotional tension, or acts which have clung together through the peculiar way in which they were first associated. In most of these cases, we believe, it is an afterthought that the acts have an efficacy of any sort.¹

It is quite clear from the cases investigated that the child begins very early to react spontaneously upon his own ideas, wishes, or whatever absorbs his attention. His ideas being motor tend to action, and generally end in action. His acts may be at first purposeless. Indeed, many of this class were found in connection with those having some definite aim. To cite an instance or two: One boy was accustomed to touch every tree he passed in going along the street. He did it secretly, and felt he "had to do it" though he did it for no particular purpose. Another lad never kicked his foot against an object in the road without straightway turning about and walking around the object. This practice was entirely private, purposeless, and yet done with a sense of necessity. Many such practices, however, seem to be purposive from the beginning; and the child is a conscious magician making use of his arts to manipulate the world about him to his liking. How these acts come to have design in them and why is difficult to determine. The child certainly does not have a philosophy of the world; he has no theory of causation, and yet he acts as if he had. He is apt to proceed as though "he imagined he could do anything he chose with natural forces", as though they were governed by his own conduct. Perhaps this comes from the fact that his world is thought of anthropomorphically, as a part of himself; and from the further fact that his thoughts being motor in tendency give at least a feeling of relationship between his

¹ King, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

wishes, ideas and his bodily actions—which feeling may indeed be the first sense of causation. With this feeling, and with attention fixed upon action, what is a more natural result than that the child acts with the idea that his movements in some way are related to the world about him in a causative sense? But, whether this be the psychology of the feeling or not, it is certainly a possession of the child, and leads to the reactions we call magic.

The thesis here maintained is that magic has its root in the very nature of the child's mind; that it is a natural reaction to the world; that it is of perennial origin. Now, if it be fair to assume that the mind of the child reflects the mind of primitive man, we have, then, a confirmation of the theory of the genesis of magical art, which Professor King in part reached from another point of view. However, somewhat contrary to his conclusions that "it is an after-thought that the acts have an efficacy of any sort", the limited observations prompting this discussion seem to show that there is a feeling that they do have efficacy arising very early in the child's experience. It is doubtless hazy and undefined, but nevertheless present in some form of feeling or incipient thought.

We would conclude, then, that magic is not peculiar to primitive peoples, but, on the contrary, a natural reaction of all individuals at one stage of their development, or at least of certain neurotic types of individuals. That magical practices do not prevail in civilized society, except in the form of a few survivals that have persisted, is not because their root does not sprout with each generation, but because the environment is not congenial to its growth.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The study of the religious phenomena of Aton (*cf. supra*, pp. 63, 95) has revealed an unusual development which leads us to inquire as to the cause of the change. In pursuit of this, our attention has been turned to a thorough investigation of the nature of the congregating group during the pioneer period, the sources whence it came, its mental types, and previous social conditions as the most probable source of explanation. In an earlier chapter (*cf. supra*, pp. 22-23) this has been done in part. It remains for us now to go back of the history of Aton itself and study social conditions in Western New York where was produced the stock that formed our community.

The nature of the population, and the social conditions that prevailed in this district in the first half of the nineteenth century, have been carefully studied and fully described for us by F. M. Davenport in his *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*. He shows that Western New York was a hot-bed of fanaticism and immorality; that it was given over to unbridled religious revivalism which had brought about social chaos. He points out the fact that this region, during the first half of the century, gave birth to the Anti-Masonic fanaticism, Mormonism, Millerism, and Spiritualism. He says, it was an

immense amount of primitive instability, as well as of psychological distemper, which existed in the population of Western N. Y. in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹ . . . Before

¹ *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, p. 186.

Finney's personality issued upon the scene, before any particular individual assumed leadership, this fanatical restlessness, this tendency to spiritual commotion, was in the mind of the population, and periodically broke forth in fantastic exciting revivals. There were whole stretches of country in those parts that for generations were known as the "burnt district," and which Finney found so blistered and withered by constant revival flames that no sprout, no blade of spiritual life, could be caused to grow. Only the apples of Sodom flourished in the form of ignorance, intolerance, a boasted sinfulness, and a tendency to free-love and "spiritual affinities."¹

Out from such social conditions and of such a population came the settlers of Aton.

From this and the analysis of conditions in Aton during the first period it is evident that the life of that region was transplanted into the Western community, with its spiritualism, free-love, "blatent infidelity", drunkenness, vice, and viciousness of all kinds. A study of two other neighboring villages with respect to the nature of their population during the same period, together with their later developments in comparison with Aton, serves to establish the fact that it is in the nature of the population that the explanation of the religious phenomenon must primarily be sought. Cton is some twenty miles distant from Aton, and Dton is somewhat nearer. All three villages during the first period were of about the same size, and equally isolated. Cton was settled by pioneers from Vermont, and long bore the name of Vermont Settlement. From the first it has borne the reputation of being a devout, peaceable, intelligent, and thrifty community. A visitor in the village a generation ago wrote of it:

The people of Cton brought with them from New England a love for religion and education which distinguishes them to

¹ *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, p. 190.

this day. Soon after the settlement of the town, Congregational, Baptist and Methodist churches were organized, and the people have ever been foremost in their support of religion. Cton has had an enviable reputation on account of the interest manifested by its people in educational matters. In 1848 there was a general feeling in favor of providing the best advantages for education, and as a result the Northeastern Indiana College was organized. Cton has always possessed many advantages as a place of residence. From its earliest days the people have been celebrated far and wide on account of their temperance, and as a result all attempts to establish saloons have proved failures. Those who have gone forth from Cton have been remarkably successful in the battle of life, and have honored their town and themselves. There can be no doubt that their success has been largely the result of the excellent moral and religious training their community gave them.

The most able and substantial men of the county long came from here. They filled the public offices and were everywhere recognized as leaders. Even to-day Cton is regarded as a place of culture. The people of Aton "look up to it". For "good families", "smartness" and respectability it holds first place.

Dton has had quite a different history. Its settlers came from the same district in New York as those of Aton in the main. The first period showed about the same percent of that population as Aton. The early conditions of the community were quite similar to those of Aton. As Cton was celebrated far and wide for its good name, so was Dton for its bad name. Its vice and dissipation are proverbial to this day. The parallel between Aton and Dton in this regard was pointed out by old citizens. Though the church has recently come to wield some influence, Dton is still known as "a tough place".

The similarity of the two villages whose population came from the same source and their contrast to the third whose

settlers were from New England, makes it evident that the social conditions of Aton are directly attributable to the nature of the population. Now, it is clear that this population was predominantly of the ideo-emotional type throughout the first period at least. As in Western New York¹ so here sympathetic like-mindedness² prevailed. The characteristics of this mental type are:

Its prompt response to stimulus, its emotionalism, imaginativeness, suggestibility, and habit of reasoning from analogy. Other factors are a reciprocal consciousness of kind, which is rapidly formed, a great susceptibility to emblem and Shibboleth, great imitativeness, and contagious emotion.²

Many of these traits we have already seen to be the characteristic ones of the village in earlier years. In this connection it is interesting to note the kind of reasoning employed in selecting land for entry by the incoming settlers. The likeness of the country about Aton and Dton to the lake region of New York, already mentioned, struck the "Yorkstaters". The hills and the lakes and the marshes and the stone and the timber made "it seem like home". Fine open prairies lay a few miles to the west, which were free from stone, well watered and ready for the plowman, but these they passed by, reasoning analogically that the rough, stony, and well-wooded land, like their home country, was the only fertile land while the prairie must be barren. The New England pioneers concluded the prairie was far more desirable because it was free from stone, level, and immediately available for cultivation, and so chose it in preference to any other. Their shrewdness was evinced in this; for not only did their land yield rich harvests more quickly than any other, but soon came to

¹ Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, pp. 2, 259-260.

² Giddings, *Inductive Sociology*, pp. 136-144.

be worth four or five times as much in price. Further evidence of the mental type of the population of Aton was pointed out on page 40, where the great amount of impulsive action was indicated in economic activities. A notable example was the wild and senseless craze over the first railroad, and the foolish efforts connected with it. Political campaigns were highly emotional and led to great excesses. They are described as "hot and fiery" and "wonderfully exciting". A number of cases are cited where rallies became "drunken mobs that cleaned up the town". Another instance may be mentioned in connection with the coming of the news that Fort Sumter had been fired upon. It is said that "a great mass-meeting came together in the court house", and at the suggestion of one of the speakers they rushed down to the public square and "cut down the political poles there standing and buried them". "All were of one mind that the rebels should be shot and the union preserved. Everybody wanted to go and fight." Many instances of great drunken rabbles have been alluded to and a memorable community-drunk cited. Temperance revivals and the ready response of hundreds of "drunks" to them have been indicated. Still more the prevalence of spiritualistic seances and free-love orgies all go to indicate a thoroughly emotional population, readily becoming a sympathetic like-minded group.

The sympathetic like-minded group, such as that of Aton, is known to yield readily to religious revivalists.¹ Often extremely emotional experiences are manifested under conditions where "crowd action" is stimulated and no inhibiting influences are present. Despite the fact that Aton was looked upon by the popular mind as a "hot-bed of infidelity and irreligion" and wholly adverse to "gospel influences", the prevalent social type was just that most

¹ Giddings, *Inductive Sociology*, p. 143.

susceptible to "gospel influences" of a certain kind. Here was well cultivated ground for the religious revival, and if the right seed were sown an abundant harvest might be expected. That seed was plentifully sown, and therein lies the second factor in the religious transformation of Aton.

No records are found of any real revival efforts on the part of Christian forces until 1867. From that date on to the present time "big meetings" have been of annual occurrence in the village. Table XXVIII has been prepared to show the extent of religious revivals. These data have been gathered from church records, *The Republican*, personal recollections, and by means of a questionnaire addressed to all living ministers and evangelists who have labored in the town at various times. The tabulation is not complete. The results, as to numbers converted, of some revivals in the first decade of the churches' activities could not be determined accurately. However, it is known that a number of meetings "were very successful". This table shows how effective the stimulus of the revival was when once applied. It is reported that the revival of 1867 "stirred the town from center to circumference". To its efficacy pastors and evangelists addressed by the writer bore unanimous testimony. Some said: "It was easy to get converts in Aton"; others: "It was a great place for revivals"; and still others: "Big meetings have always been popular; they have made the churches." The church members themselves say: "Big meetings have made Aton Christian."

In character these revivals have not been marked by excessive emotionalism or fanatical outbursts. Though, to be sure, much excitement has usually attended them, and sometimes these waves of sympathetic response have come dangerously near the fanatical. There is every reason to believe that on some occasions all rational moorings could

have been swept away and the group turned into an irresponsible religious mob. That this did not happen seems to be due to the influence of the Disciples, who have largely shaped the character of the religion of the village. This denomination from its advent in the community has injected more or less doctrinal teaching into its revivals; antagonizing the other sects, it compelled them in self-defense to rationalize their revivals as they would not otherwise have done. The Disciples have not encouraged the "Holy Spirit conversion" to the degree that many denominations have. Its opposition to this has acted as a modifying influence on the Methodists and United Brethren of the community. While the revivals have stopped short of extreme emotionalism, they have, nevertheless, resorted to all the psychological methods making for "crowd action" rather than ethical conduct. Many scores have "joined the big meetings" who afterwards had no interest in religion till the next revival. However, through repeated conversions they have eventually "stuck".

Inquiring as to what elements of the population have responded to the revival, no selective process can be distinguished. All classes have been equally susceptible to its influence, the professional class as well as the laboring; men, as well as women and children. Certain it is that the most active spiritualistic, free-love, and "infidel" families of other days are now upon the rolls of the churches. Only occasionally does there remain an exception. While the group was increased from time to time by influx from outside the source of this increase until about 1890 was almost wholly from the adjacent territory, with quite the same stock and social conditions. There is nothing, however, to indicate that these incomers yielded more readily to the churches' influence than did the old residents, though to be sure, through them the church frequently received valuable accretions.

The fact must be recognized that since the beginning of church activities a new generation has arisen. The response to the revival, however, has not lessened but rather increased in the meantime. The question then confronts us, is this to be attributed to an emotional instability of the population as in the first instance? Certainly it would be difficult to demonstrate that such characteristics, whether acquired or inherent, had been transmitted in the stock and were still persistent under general social conditions that tend to counteract them. While in some instances this is probably true, still in the main the susceptibility of Aton to religious revivals in the present period cannot be accounted for on this ground. It must be explained on the basis of a community habit or custom, which, from a sociological standpoint, once formed, would tend to perpetuate itself through impression, suggestion, example and imitation from generation to generation. That response to religious stimuli has become a social habit, that it is taught as a duty, and has, therefore, become one of the mores of the group, is unquestionable to one acquainted with the life of the community. Originally there was the highly emotional response to spiritualism and free-love, which under the pressure of the revival was transmuted into a like reaction to Christianity, then through constant repetition in season and out of season crystallized into a customary way of action. Response to this custom is almost irresistible to those living in Aton. Testimony almost without limit could be adduced to this effect from newcomers of the past two decades. There is a feeling that "you have to go to church", and that "one must join the church, for everybody does". It is expected of people and persistently and insistently suggested to them on every side in scores of ways. In adjacent villages it is said "you must be a church member if you live in Aton. You want

to look out if you move there, for they will get you sure." Moreover, through more than a decade of personal experience in the village, the writer has felt the force of this custom and observed its operations. Thus on the ground of conformity to a social custom the religious developments of the last two decades are explained. The college group of this period, made up of a large percent of adolescents, has felt the impulsion of this custom in no less degree than the community as a whole, and has been readily responsive to it.

The analysis of religious causation in Aton may be here summarized as follows: In the first place the congregating group was emotionally unstable, of the sympathetic like-minded type, and therefore particularly susceptible to religious stimulation. In the second place the religious revival was constantly and effectively applied with a resulting responsiveness typical of such a population. In the third place through this persistent stimulation and response a social habit or mode of reaction has been established, which, perpetuating itself in the community, is sufficient to account for the continued religious manifestations.

The evolution in the social mind already discussed (*cf. supra*, pp. 130-131), is due in no small degree to the influence of religion. While the process of change has paralleled the growth of the church, it would be too much to give the church all the credit. Other factors have been at work to help bring it about, such as widening communication, increasing knowledge, and a growing complexity of social life. Notwithstanding the fact that the church has fostered emotionalism on the one hand, on the other it has cultivated dogmatism to a remarkable degree. It has furnished the chief stimulus to it. It has built high denominational walls, inculcated prejudice, and rigidly enforced its moral standards until it has been the leading factor in forming the social type of the group.

CHAPTER III

POLITICS

In the analysis of political activity (*cf. supra*, p. 55) some interesting aspects were revealed. For half a century Aton has been persistently Republican. Not only the town but the county as well has given constant Republican majorities. This stability has made it the banner community of the state for that party. From these facts attention has been directed to an inquiry into the underlying causes of the phenomenon to which this chapter will be devoted.

1. The Civil War. By consulting Charts I and II it will be seen that the Republican majorities rose very high at the Civil War period. Before that date the majority was as liable to be Democratic as Whig or Republican, but since then Republican majorities have been unchangeable. This would seem to warrant the conclusion that the Civil War was the determining factor in the political life of this town and county. Proceeding upon this hypothesis, we find that the political reaction of the community has indeed been governed by the war question to the present day.

Allusion has already been made to the crisis that the outbreak of the rebellion precipitated in Aton. When the news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter reached the village in April of 1861, there was a memorable outburst of patriotism and excitement in the community. A spontaneous mass-meeting assembled in the court house. Those who were present say that several impassioned addresses were made which led to a unanimous resolution that there

should be no political parties in the town so long as the Union was in danger. The meeting broke up, and the crowd rushed out to the public square where stood the poles of the Democratic and Republican parties. These were hewn down, and buried in a most obsequious manner in token of good faith in the resolutions just passed. The war spirit ran high according to the accounts of a local historian, who writes:

Almost a day's travel from railroad or telegraph communications, as remote from the center of activities as the limits of the state would permit, with a people mainly devoted to agriculture, who knew nothing of war except by history or tradition, it could not be expected that such an outburst of a warlike spirit would so disturb the peaceful population.

And yet from what we have learned of the nature of the population and their accustomed manner of action it is just such an impetuous response that was to be expected. So here again it is in the very nature of the population itself that the fundamental explanation of the communities remarkable war record, and subsequently its political history, is to be sought.

In tracing the part the community had in the rebellion, and its effects, the data do not permit an altogether separate treatment of the town and county. However, the problem is much the same for both as previously indicated. The event of 1861, recounted above, culminated in the enrollment of a company of volunteers for the war. Before communication could be established with the capitol the quota of Indiana was full for the first call of the president for troops, but, eager to enlist and impatient of delay, the Aton company hurried to Michigan and joined a regiment there. From that day to the end of the war the community poured forth its men to the front.

TABLE XXIX

SOLDIERS AND SUPPORT FURNISHED FOR THE CIVIL WAR

Eligible Men in 1862.	Enlistments.	Drafts.	Lost.	Relief.	Bounties.
1406	1207	20	238	\$24,571	\$74,366

Table XXIX shows the record of the entire county in the war. In this Aton had a very large part. The population of the county was but 10,374, according to the census of 1860; it was the most isolated of the state; but the war records of Indiana show that it furnished more soldiers than any other county in proportion to its population, more men according to the number who were eligible, and more volunteers among that number. The only drafts were in December of 1864, on the last call for men. Furthermore, this county paid less bounty than any other, not because it was a community without wealth, but because of the spontaneous response to calls for volunteers. While Aton township had a much greater population and more wealth than any other in the county, it needed less bounty. This fact reflects the greater responsiveness of the town. *The Republican* said, in 1862: "Practically every available man above sixteen in Aton has enlisted."

From Charts I and II the political effects of the war questions are obvious. An old record of "The Union League" shows that in 1862 75 per cent of the voters of Aton were counted Republican. Since the war the balance of power has been in the hands of the soldiers both in the town and the county. Table XXX gives such data as are extant concerning the strength of the soldiers' vote. It is known that the number of soldiers previous to 1890 was considerably in excess of the figures given for that year. The soldier's vote, with very rare exceptions, has been un-

TABLE XXX

SOLDIERS' VOTE

Year.	Total vote of county.	Soldiers in county.	Total vote of town.	Soldiers in town.
1890	3818	635	780	172
1910	4100	357	1050	115

alterably Republican. The Democratic voters among them have been exceedingly few. The above table shows that in 1890, 16.6 per cent of the county vote was composed of soldiers as was over 22 per cent of that of the town. In 1910, this vote was 8.7 per cent and 11 per cent respectively. In addition to the vote of the soldiers themselves that of the sons of veterans is almost as constant a Republican element. In 1890 there were some hundred and fifty members of the Sons of Veteran Posts in the county and about fifty in the town. This is known to represent but a small percent of the sons of soldiers both in town and county who were normally Republicans.

By referring to Chart I it will be seen that in 1882 Aton gave a Democratic majority to the candidate for representative to the Legislature. That candidate was a soldier, undoubtedly the most popular fellow among "the old boys" of all men in Aton. Up to that time no soldier had ever appeared on the Democratic ticket as a candidate for any office. Of this fact *The Republican* had tauntingly boasted. Somewhat incensed by the taunts of their opponents the Democrats induced this man to run on their ticket, though he was not considered a "real Democrat". The result was that a considerable percent of the soldiers' vote went for him and gave him a majority. The vote of the county at large, where he was not personally known, was not sufficiently altered, however, to elect him. Again in

1910, the Democratic candidate for congress received a majority of the votes of Aton. This was also due to the soldiers' vote. This candidate was a citizen of the town, and had long been a popular pension agent. "He had done the old boys more good turns in getting pensions than any fellow that ever worked for us", they said of him. Furthermore, on the "definite promise to the old boys that he would work for the dollar a day pension bill", together with confidence in him because of his past efforts in their behalf, he received the vote of almost their entire number. This was sufficient to turn the majority in his favor. In the county at large where he was not personally known the normal Republican majority was not disturbed. These cases serve to show that the soldiers have held the balance of power. Their vote, being a constant factor in the Republican party and sufficiently large to counteract the variable elements in it, has, therefore, been the determining one in political affairs. In all instances, apart from these already considered, where the Republican vote has fallen below 50 per cent of the total the small parties have been the cause, but in no case has the Republican ticket failed of a plurality.

2. Effective Stimuli. The question naturally arises; What has caused the soldiers' vote to remain persistently Republican? Aside from the general phases of this question, which are not peculiar to Aton, there have been certain specific forces at work in the community to this end. First of all the local patronage of the party, ever since the war, has been liberally extended to them. From a list of all public officials between the years 1863 and 1880, exactly one-half are found to have been soldiers. Since 1880 37 per cent of all public offices have been filled by them. Aside from this a strong partisan local paper, *The Republican*, has played a leading rôle in political affairs. It has

applied a constant stimulus to the voter, and particularly the soldier, in behalf of its party. As early as 1870, it acquired the reputation of being the "most rabid Republican organ of Northern Indiana". It has ever since lived up to that reputation. Annually, since 1865, an average of 11.2 per cent of the total reading matter of this paper has been devoted to politics. The character of this material shows it to be ably edited, but of the most uncompromising partisan quality. Into every campaign the civil war question has been injected and an appeal made to sectional prejudice. Its editorials have been ultra-radical utterances. Such headings as the following have been published in recent campaigns: "Democracy the Party of Rebellion and Corruption", "Soldiers! Vote as you Shot", "Democracy, the Party of Secession", and "Republicanism, the Upholder of the Union". This paper avoids much discussion of principle; it never seeks to correct or to improve its party. It flatters popular prejudice in its favor by clever use of suggestion in such topics as those above, and by constant reference to Republicanism as the party of prosperity, of honor, of good faith, of loyalty and of wisdom, as over against the party of hard times, dishonor, broken promises, treason and ignorance. From the mailing lists of the paper it is found that for thirty years at least it has never reached less than 80 per cent of the homes of the village, and an even larger percent of those of the entire county. In many instances until the last decade it has afforded the chief source of information on political questions. Moreover, it has been read and has moulded public opinion as no other single agent throughout the county. In town and country alike it is universally said, "I always read *The Republican*, if I read nothing else." In 1893, *The Magnet*, a paper started specifically in the interest of the Republican party, began to be issued in Aton. It had a successful

career until two years ago, when it was consolidated with *The Republican*. This organ was likewise a valuable stimulus to Republicanism in the community. No important local counteracting influence has arisen in opposition to these papers. While since 1876 *The Herald*, a Democratic weekly, has been published, it has been poorly edited, and has had a very small circulation without significant influence.

3. Economic Factor. This factor has played an important part in maintaining the political status of the community. From early days sheep raising and wool growing have been important occupations of the region.

TABLE XXXI
PRODUCTION OF WOOL IN S—— COUNTY

Year.	Pounds.	Year.	Pounds.
1876	142,060	1886.....	195,002
1877	166,000	1887.....	162,398
1878	104,103	1890.....	251,263
1879	129,998	1900.....	241,360
1880	152,842	1904.....	202,106
1884	200,000	1910.....	245,684

Since 1880, according to the reports of the United States Bureau of Agriculture, it has been the first county of Indiana in the production of wool. Table XXXI gives some idea of the extent of its production. The Republican policy of a protective tariff on wool has been the vital issue with most growers. Over 30 per cent of the farmers, chiefly in the rougher sections of the county, of which the township of Aton is one, are raisers of this staple, and generally give their support to the Republican party in consequence. To them the protection of one of their main sources of income is of utmost

importance, overshadowing all other questions. It is a matter of dollars and cents to them. To vote the Democratic ticket would be to vote for free wool, and would mean "voting money out of your pocket". With such logic as this a considerable percent of the farmers "vote her straight", and influence others who are only indirectly concerned.

Thus we find the community of Aton a stable factor in American politics, whose reaction is always conservative. Its status having been determined in the main by the issues of the Civil War and the Union soldier, it remains to be seen whether, when this element is eliminated, as it soon will be, the political situation will not change, become more responsive to the real merits of the issues before the people. However, the momentum of half a century of movement in one direction is not easily overcome, though the initial forces be removed, and quick changes are consequently not to be expected. Moreover, the indisposition to change of any sort fostered by the manner of life in the village and country alike of a rural district makes it impossible that it should become a radical political force.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOCRACY

The third most striking social phenomenon of Aton is its democracy. In the analysis of it (*cf. supra*, pp. 92-94), it was shown to be so much in evidence as to be the first characteristic of the village noted by the transient sojourner. The democracy of Aton does not differ in kind from that of many another American village, but it does differ in degree. Of this, evidence has already been given. What has caused this is the subject of inquiry in this chapter.

First of all, there are certain well-known sociological laws, of the relation of the physical environment to the population and the mental type, that are applicable here.¹ As a general proposition it is true that a homogeneous physical environment produces a homogeneous social environment. It has already been shown that the region in which Aton is located is relatively homogeneous; that it is a much broken country and often infertile. Its natural resources have always been predominantly agricultural. Now, in such an environment, without diversity of resources permitting a variety of occupations and industries, it follows that a homogeneous population would be expected. Furthermore, where aggregations of population in villages and towns, in such a region, have developed no artificial industries that are dependent on natural resources

¹ Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 270-271, and *Pub. Am. Econ. Assoc.*, third series, vol. v, 1904, p. 157.

of the locality, such aggregations will likewise be homogeneous. Aton being a village of this order, it follows that its population, together with that of the region in general, has been in the main a homogeneous one. A population of this kind responds, in a large measure, alike to varied stimuli; it is mentally homogeneous.¹ Such a group does not naturally differentiate itself into classes, for "there is substantial equality of energy and ability."² This being true, its form of organization, its manner of association, and its general spirit will be democratic.³ These laws are well exemplified in the case of Aton, and account for its democracy in general; but they do not explain the extraordinary degree to which that democracy has developed.

One important factor in the problem of Aton's democracy, which is ultimately due, in the main, to the environmental conditions, is the great equality in the distribution of wealth. This has already been set forth (*cf. supra*, p. 39). Throughout the history of the town large fortunes have been accumulated by none of the group; consequently extravagant living and display have not stimulated class feeling between the poor and the rich, conditions which easily lead to social cleavage and finally to an aristocracy of wealth clearly defined and generally recognized. But one fortune has been brought into the village. Thirty-five years ago a man worth less than two hundred thousand dollars came and built a residence costing about nine thousand dollars, which to this day remains the finest of the village. Much respect was accorded him, and had he not been a prince among paupers, there was the nucleus for the formation of an upper class. His stay was brief, however, and he has had no successors. None in the community has become inde-

¹ Giddings, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-163.

² Giddings, *Pub. Am. Econ. Assoc.*, third series, vol. v, 1904, p. 163.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

pendent of work, and this common economic lot of all fosters democracy.

But back of the economic situation lies another agent. It is the spirit of democracy made an ideal. This ideal seemed to have existed in the community from its beginning, having originated with the founder of Aton. The democratic spirit of this leader of the early days is the one characteristic best remembered of him. He is always described as "a most democratic man". So long as he lived he studiously fostered this spirit in the community. It was his custom to frequently invite the entire population to assemble at his home for social purposes. He was the best-to-do of any, and was looked upon by his fellow citizens as a wealthy man. Their familiarity with him and his home dissipated all that consciousness of difference between the poor and the well-to-do that exists in an exaggerated form among many rural populations; it gave birth to a sense of equality that has tended to persist whatever the economic status. This man, moreover, exerted a strong influence in the formation of the social and religious sentiments of the village. The power of his influence is hinted at when it was said of him that: "Many people regarded Judge G. as a sort of demi-god, and whatever he did was just the thing." This was manifested in that Aton became devoted to free-love and spiritualism largely through his efforts. Doubtless, the fostering of democracy is also directly correlated with these practices. Under the patronage of Judge G. *The Truth Seeker* was started and published for a number of years in the village. This was a paper devoted to the promotion of Free-thought, Democracy, etc. Its teachings savored of communism. As near as can be determined, the editor was somewhat of a disciple of Fourier. Though no communistic ventures were ever proposed or undertaken in Aton, this paper served to

foster the spirit of democracy and to crystallize public opinion on its behalf. This ideal once formed has come down to the present time.

While the other social practices of the first period, such as religion and morals, have perished, the spirit of democracy remains as a cherished heritage. This is largely due to the fact that orthodox religion, when it established itself in the town, valued democracy and made it a part of its propaganda. Such stress has been laid upon it in all the church life that this institution in becoming dominant, has come to be the great preserver of the ideal. The church, too, is a constant democratizing force through its informal worship, and its frequent assembling of a large percent of the population in revival meetings where they are subjected to the same stimuli. This ideal is fostered by the local college also, as already shown (*cf. supra*, p. 77). From the inception of the institution this has been one of its policies, because of the influence of its founders under pressure from the community. Democracy as an ideal further makes itself effective as a social force in that it is personified in typical individuals who are the most esteemed of the group. It is by them that others whose personal ambition it becomes to imitate their characteristics are guided. The teacher, the lawyer, the doctor, and the business man, if he succeeds in Aton, must exemplify the ideal. All are conscious of an irresistible pressure exerted to that end. This ideal in brief has become a social custom, and as such it persists, enforced by the sanctions and disapprovals of public opinion. Therefore, in conclusion, it is through an ideal inculcated from the beginning of the community that the unusual spirit of democracy in Aton is to be explained.

CHAPTER V

PLEASURE

UNDER the discussion of social pleasures (*cf. supra*, p. 114) it was shown that those of physical activity had had a very small place, particularly in the last period. Inasmuch as this has been the period of greatest prosperity for the group, when the organization of such pleasures would normally develop, their absence is significant. Moreover, when it is remembered that Aton college brings several hundred students into the community each year, it is all the more remarkable that extensive physical pleasures have not arisen. In a search for the causes of this, some interesting facts concerning the control of the pleasures of a people are brought to light.

This decrease of physical pleasure might be correlated with a decrease in physical energy and exuberance due to a decreasing proportion of young people in the population. While no vital statistics have been kept in the community whereby to measure this, granting that there has been a decrease through a lessening birth-rate, still there remains the fact that Aton has a student body sufficient to offset it and to give the village an undue proportion of young people. Again, the absence of many pleasures of physical activity might be attributed to increasing conventionality with its usual tendency to suppress hilarity and the more boisterous amusements. But this is not the case in Aton, for its social life has not grown formal nor developed any tendency to imitate the

usages of classes or groups of that order in curbing impulsive activities.

In fact two forces have exerted a decided influence on physical pleasures. First of all the stimulus of the lakes, offering unlimited opportunities for outdoor pleasures of receptive sensation in the main, mingled with a certain physical element, seems to have turned pleasures in that direction from the early days of the community, and operated against the organization of physical sports. By referring to Chart VI the relation of physical sports to pleasures afforded by the lakes is seen. As the lake curve rises after 1888 the curve of physical pleasures gradually decreases until 1909. This would indicate some relation between the two. The former has taken the place of the latter, satisfying the need for pleasures of physical activity which in lieu of such opportunities would naturally take the form of organized field and track sports together with various other athletics. But through the expenditure of surplus energy, leisure and means, during the season of outdoor sports, in response to the lakes, interest in other pleasurable activities is curbed. Since the amount of energy that can be devoted to pleasure is limited in a group of this sort, it is evident that a quantitative problem is involved, where the extent to which pleasures of one sort are indulged in determines the amount of others. Moreover, it appears in this case that response to pleasures stimulated by the natural environment is far more ready and spontaneous than to those that may be termed artificial, which require the exercise of ingenuity and organization.

The second factor operating for the repression of physical pleasures in the group has been the policy of the local college. From the time of the founding of the institution in 1885 to 1909 all athletic sports were for-

bidden. Not only did this influence the college but the public schools and the community at large. Evidence of this is seen in the striking lack of interest in any kind of ball, for example, on the part of the small boys of Aton. One rarely sees a group of them engaged in the sport or hears them discussing it as in the average village community. Their favorite recreation during the summer season is swimming, fishing or loitering about the lakes. There is, moreover, an absence of leadership capable of initiating such sports as well as a general indifference to them that is a marked characteristic of the town. By referring to Chart VI it will be seen that in 1909 the curve representing pleasures of physical activity takes a sudden rise. This came as a result of a new administration and policy in the college which was encouraging to athletics. Not only did the college group quickly respond to its opportunities in the organization of all sorts of athletic sports, but its enthusiasm was also communicated to the public schools. A gymnasium was erected at the college, foot-ball, basket-ball and base-ball teams were formed and regular series of games played and athletic tournaments held. From the present outlook it is certain that under this new stimulus pleasures of physical activity will occupy a much larger place in the community than ever before.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE INDIVIDUAL

WHAT such a community as Aton does for the individual and how it does it, is a question upon which the foregoing study may throw some light. There is a popular saying that the small town or village is the worst place in the world in which to rear children, that it is more apt to produce vicious and worthless characters than the farm or the city. This is a crude observation that may have some foundation in fact. However, a comparative study of a number of American villages with this in view would be necessary to determine the truth or falsity of the opinion. But from the present study it would appear that it may or may not be true according to the moral content of the social environment, which is certainly by no means the same in all towns or villages. It is quite certain, however, that whatever the product may be, morally it is likely to be of a positive nature. Moreover, there is apt to be but one type. It may be said that a village does not produce moral types, it produces only a moral type. This comes of a certain solidarity found only in the small group, which gives a certain environmental mould to which all are shaped for better or for worse according to the nature of the mould.

The positive moral type produced by the village is due to two things; first, to the psychological traits fostered by the natural environment, and, second, to the expres-

sion of personality encouraged by the social environment. R. L. Hartt rightly says: "The rural environment is psychologically extravagant. It tends to extremes. A man carries himself out to his logical conclusions; he becomes a concentrated essence of himself."¹ One acquainted with rural populations sees this amply illustrated in their strong passions of anger, love and hate, absurd beliefs and prejudices, tenacity of purpose, stable piety and wild indulgence. Isolated and without social restraints the individual goes to such limits as he pleases. The village group partakes much of the nature of the rural individual, if it lies in the midst of the country and draws its population from it, as does Aton. To be sure there is a certain psychological toning down which becomes more and more manifest with increasing numbers and growing complexity of the community life, but there remains a decided tendency to moral radicalism so long as the community remains a village in the proper sense. The social environment is effective in its character results through the intimate interplay of personalities associated constantly and in many ways. All relationships in a village are personal and intimate, characterized by a more or less thorough knowledge of each on the part of all. There results as a consequence of this a large degree of satisfaction to the instinctive craving for personal recognition and reciprocal valuation. This develops personality. It brings out individual traits and leads to their recognition and utilization through encouragement from the group. For instance, John Smith's ability to make speeches, tell stories or amuse an audience; Bill Jones' skill in fishing or prognosticating the weather; and Sam Blank's capacity for

¹ *A New England Town*, by R. L. Hartt, *The Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1899.

liquor or for doing police duty, are all generally known and recognized. The individual's skill, cunning, talents of various kinds, eccentricities and foibles, his strong and weak points, come to light and receive due appreciation nowhere else as in the village. This begins in the free associations of village children and becomes accentuated in the equally free fellowships of maturity. Each person is known by his deeds and a value is put upon him. He is expected to live up to his reputation be it good or bad, and this expectation usually begets realization. Thus the individual has importance to the group and consequently, through this social estimation, becomes important in his own eyes. His individuality is fostered, his character made picturesque, his type positive.

The social forces converging on the individual in the village community impinge upon him not only more powerfully, because more directly and more personally, but also at more points, for he is likely to function in more ways socially, than in the larger aggregate. He feels the pressure of personal example, custom, moral valuation, belief, and institutions quickly and forcefully. He cannot escape the coercion of gossip, public opinion, institutional disciplines, the consequences of belief and personal attitude of his fellows. Thus the will of the group acts immediately and irresistibly upon him. Public opinion is quite apt to be one that is unanimous, and not divided as in the city, and it must be respected, for the individual may not take refuge in a class of his own liking, and he dares not do as he pleases, for the memory of the villager is long and no one is ever disassociated from family or past. To defy the will of the majority means to lose friendship, respect, standing, "to get folks down on you," and "to lose out all around."

The consequences are too grave for the thoughtful person to ignore; there is no escaping them, and one must yield.

In a community like Aton where in the present period the moral content of the environment is predominantly good, the coercion of the public will is a constant factor in shaping right personal conduct. The best is demanded of men. They are expected to give it, but if they fail, "they are shocked and reformed by the attitude of their fellows." Bad men are really made unhappy, as Socrates insisted they were, by making their badness goad their consciences. Coercion, not always in a bad sense, but sympathetically and personally applied, bears abundant fruit in Aton. A good illustration of its working was seen in reference to the temperance cause. For years remonstrances were circulated against licensing saloons. Voters signed them in increasing numbers, for not to do so meant general censure and "to lose out." The desire for respectability, for the approval of men, were the only motives that brought many into line. When an election was held to vote on this question, where men could vote as they pleased, without fear, because in secret, the saloons were voted in. The removal of pressure permitted free action. As a rule, however, constant subjection to the restraints of moral forces tends to form habits, and character through response to them. If on the other hand the communal forces are immoral, according to accepted standards, as more often they are in the small village, the results are just as certain in the other direction. The writer is intimately acquainted with a village community of near the size of Aton where coercion is as effective for evil as in Aton it is for good. Good men are afraid to be good there; they are moral cowards because social sentiment

does not uphold clean morals. The products of the community are decidedly vicious. Drunkenness, vice, lawlessness and dishonesty are like a net in which the whole community is caught, and from whose meshes scarcely a youth is able to escape. These conclusions are the results of a year's observation in the midst of the village with this problem in mind. To be sure the village of Aton and the community cited in comparison therewith may be rather exceptional places, but if so the general contentions with respect to village communities are, nevertheless, true, and the probabilities are that more of them approach more nearly the latter type than the type represented by Aton.

In view of the rôle that coercion plays in Aton and similar villages it may seem paradoxical to say that withal the rural village fosters individualism, but this is true, and most particularly in the economic sphere. Its life conditions are generally favorable to all. The struggle for existence is never so dire as to reduce masses of men to a narrow and monotonous grind for a livelihood as in great centers of population. Men are free and mobile in a wide sense. Occupations are not differentiated to the degree that much specialization in any line is required. A variety of them under varying conditions is open, and it is easy to turn from one to another. The rural village is not exacting in its demands in the economic realm. It is easily satisfied and largely governed by the personal factors involved. An inherent versatility plays a large rôle in all its activities, and prevalent conditions tend to promote such versatility. The action and interaction of social economic forces are weak; and there is full scope for emphasis on the individual factor.¹

¹ *Social Aspects of Economic Law*, by Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman, *Pub. Am. Econ. Assoc.*, third series, vol. v.

So, the farmer or laborer readily becomes a salesman or a tradesman, the clerk goes into business for himself or runs for public office, while the tradesman may turn from one pursuit to something entirely different. Thus, in the absence of specialization with its narrowing and cramping tendencies, there is found a large amount of independence and individual initiative. Many are used to working by themselves and for themselves and in their own way. A sense of mastery is thereby acquired and along with it a sense of integrity, resourcefulness and self-confidence that brooks no subordination. Men are self-reliant; for there is no class or union to depend upon. The group spirit does not come into play and has no significance to the villager. Competition is single-handed and alone. Consequently through the individualism fostered by economic conditions is explained the difficulties with which any co-operative effort is confronted in the average village community.

The economic environment which develops individualism in the village helps also to produce a conservative type of mind. The want of great differentiation with the resulting absence of class struggle and class jealousies, together with economic security, individual resourcefulness, the infrequency of crises and untoward conditions forestalls radicalism in general. Other forces co-operate to the same end. The stimuli that act upon a village population are neither strong nor extensive. The range of suggestion that is received is narrow. Life is dull, devoid of sensations and much novelty. Crises of any sort are few. For instance, in the case of Aton there have been only four in all its history. The influx of population is not sufficient to disturb its social equilibrium, for it is gradual and normally from the country whence comes no new thing. The circle of association

is limited and relatively unchanging. Adjustments once made to it are lasting. Custom holds sway. It is not disturbed by free discussion. The intellectual atmosphere is stagnant. Traditional ideas and ideals, prohibitions and approbations are conserved without question in politics, religion, business and morals. The *status quo* of a party once formed remains undisturbed for an indefinite period. One generation is likely to follow closely in the footsteps of another along the same path and from the same motives. The total effect of such a situation upon the individual is sedative rather than stimulating. Such a constant social environment tends to conservatism, characterized by intolerance and bigotry. It acts upon the individual to mould him, and he in turn reacts upon it to perpetuate the conditions.

In the course of this study it has been made clear that an evolution has taken place in the type of individual dominant in the community, in the process of which the austere type has superseded the convivial. This means, of course, that the social environment, as the matrix in which character is formed, has undergone a corresponding change, and that the products are different. Only in a rough way can the two periods be defined; since the transition from the one to the other, like all social changes, has been gradual. In general, however, the first and third historic periods of the community may be designated as representing two vastly different social moulds. The contrast in these is as striking as that between Aton and the village cited in comparison with it above. The difference in the type of character produced is fundamentally moral though not wholly so. The first produced the convivial, forceful, impulsive individual. Proof of this has been given in earlier chapters where it was shown that drinking, vice and other kindred

practices flourished. The typical man was a fighter, ready to go to war at the first chance, as his response to the Civil War clearly revealed; he was self-indulgent, ready to drink and gratify his passions in excess; he was aggressive, inclined to regard might as right, and rather impulsive in his actions. The present social environment produces as the prevailing type the austere, dogmatic, Puritanic individual, who is a champion of self denial, a believer in fair dealing and in justice, a devotee of religion and reform movements. In this period Aton has produced about a dozen ministers and missionaries and has developed many temperance reformers. A noteworthy partisan spirit has arisen. In politics this has fostered the machine politician who has been frequently an aspirant for office and particularly well schooled in the art of getting it. In the last decade Aton men have filled twenty public offices aside from those merely local. They have ranged from Congressmen and a lieutenant governor to the vice-governor of the Philippine Islands. Unswerving party loyalty together with a certain ability for manipulating the machine, for which the Aton politician is famous, has won him preferment. In religion this partisan spirit has already been pointed out. It is characterized by the same loyalty as in politics, coupled with much glorying over sectarian successes. The Aton partisan, withal, is usually a hard loser, and unable to treat the defeated with generosity.

The cause of this difference in the individuals produced by the two periods lies fundamentally in the difference of the moral content of the two environments, as already emphasized. In addition to this, as previously shown, the church has persistently cultivated the partisan spirit in the second period, whereas this was not a factor in the first at all. Moreover, the reaction to the Civil

War, as elsewhere demonstrated, has been an important factor in forming the dogmatic mind. As over against the first period the present social environment is one of authority in religion, politics and morals, it is more institutionalized, and, consequently, more stable, and so more inhibitive of impulsive action.

CHAPTER VII

PROGRESS

IN the study of Aton it has become apparent that the rural village community is essentially non-progressive. Changes seldom occur in any form in its social life, and those that do take place are effected slowly. An inquiry regarding the causative agencies of progress in Aton has given some results which seem to justify certain general conclusions which are here presented.

In canvassing the history of the community, as it has been gathered from various sources, the most important changes, whether progressive or otherwise, have been noted and their causes determined in so far as possible. From this it is revealed that not a single important change has been wrought in any sphere of the village life which has owed its origin primarily to the community itself. The forces have come from without in the form of various kinds of stimuli. Its activities have been energized and vitalized by disturbing agencies not inherent in the group itself. These extraneous forces have been chiefly either in the form of crises or the coming of new personalities into the village.

Reference has already been made, at a number of times, in previous chapters to the place of crises in the development of Aton. There have been four of them in its history; and they are milestones that mark important advancements. Too much emphasis can scarcely be laid on their significance in relation to progress. They stim-

ulated life on one side, and it responded as a whole. The crisis of the Civil War was a political one. It aroused the population to a high pitch of excitement, swept away party differences, awakened a patriotism that united all in loyal support of the cause of union, and determined the political future of the village in a large measure. The second in 1869 was primarily commercial in its effects. It set everything astir, generated new activities, and led to many lasting developments on every hand. The third crisis in 1906 occasioned by the coming of an east-and-west railroad, together with the fourth which quickly followed it, brought on by the offer of a large bonus by a neighboring city as an inducement to the local college to move its seat to that place, was the cause of another awakening in Aton. There resulted from this, extensive coöperative efforts on behalf of social welfare in economic lines, agitation in the interest of public improvements, and certain wholesome social discontents. Though little permanent progress in a material way came of it, the socializing effects in creating more harmonious relations, wider tolerance and sympathy were noteworthy.

In addition to crises the next most important agency of progress in Aton has been the stimulation coming from new people, either as permanent or temporary residents. The great temperance revivals of the seventies (*cf. supra*, p. 107) were due to a number of persons interested in the propagation of temperance, who of their own initiative came to Aton and aroused an interest in the cause. Again in 1888 the origin of a temperance campaign which led to permanent results in the moral uplift of the village may be traced to the efforts of two radical Prohibitionists who had recently become members of the faculty of the college. Their persistent

agitation of the question since has given the chief stimulus to this reform. The one effort at political reform which occurred in 1897 was aroused primarily by an official who was leading the prosecution of corrupt officials in an adjoining county, and who had a political interest in Aton. It has already been pointed out that the origin of Christianity in the village was due to missionaries sent to the place. The great revivals of almost annual occurrence that have acted as disturbing elements, arousing the community and gradually transforming it, have been due to the efforts of evangelists from other places. As a specific illustration of their work the efforts of the evangelist holding the great revival of the Disciples in 1909 may be pointed out. He promoted the building of a new church, which came to successful issue in a structure costing over \$60,000.

In other lines of progress the stimuli have likewise come from without the group. The founding of the college came through the efforts of an outside promoter. The idea of an electric line to one of the chief lakes near Aton originated with men in a neighboring city. The Aton Commercial Club of three years ago came at the suggestion of two men who had taken up a temporary abode there. Through their agitation and organizing ability it was finally brought about. The movement for a Carnegie library came from a visitor in Aton. It failed to materialize only because the citizens could not agree with reference to its location. Again at the present writing the same individual who first started the cause is a visitor in the community, and has renewed the agitation. Public waterworks and a sewer system owe their existence to outside suggestion also. Street paving has been a live issue for two years. This was first proposed by a visitor to the community, through whose utterances

The Republican was led to take up the proposition. Numerous other instances might be cited, but it is not necessary to be exhaustive. The fact is apparent that new movements, new institutions, new enterprises, and new ideas, that have benefited the community, have been injected from the outside. There have been a number of commercial undertakings of purely local origin, but they have invariably failed. The ability of the group to stimulate itself to do things for itself seems to be wanting. It is apparently lacking in resourcefulness, without the application of external stimuli. The forces of progress do not inhere in its life.

It was said at the outset that the rural village community was essentially non-progressive. The evidence furnished from the subject of the present study goes to confirm the statement. Why this is so is the question now before us. The reasons are fundamentally sociological rather than psychological, as was suggested in the last chapter. The static mind rather than the dynamic that the rural village exhibits is not necessarily due so much to the essential mental traits of the population as to the social environment itself. Other American rural villages in the Central States, whatever their demotic composition, be it German, Scandinavian, English, French or Irish, if situated as is Aton, are equally non-progressive. It is not a question of race or mental trait particularly, but a question of the social conditions under which they live as a community. Why the social environment remains static is simply because disturbing agencies are not at hand. The theory of Prof. W. I. Thomas seems a well-proved fact when he states that "It is quite certain that the degree of progress of a people has a certain relation to the nature of

the disturbances encountered, and that the most progressive have had a more vicissitudinous life."¹

A disturbing agency that rural villages do not have is racial conflict which may have important results. As a rule they are homogeneous in population, and when they become heterogeneous they quickly pass out of the village class. Again the typical rural village is not much disturbed by the infiltration of new people. Those who do come are usually from the surrounding country; farmers, who are not in any sense stimulating to the community. However, if there were at any time a movement of great numbers of people from the farm into the village, its social equilibrium might be so disturbed as to result in important changes. Such movements do not often occur; the aggregation is slow and the absorption easy. The aggregation of population in Aton has been from the source mentioned and in the manner described, in the main. It is interesting to note that the movements which owe their origin to newcomers into the village have sprung from those coming from good-sized towns or cities. In no case has the farming population been responsible for any progressive enterprise.

Again the rural village is likely to be wanting in rivalry with any other, and thus to be deprived of one of the most potent spurs to activity. This is due to the fact that it is apt to be more or less isolated, that it is set apart from others with which it has no great amount of communication. To be sure in this day of increasing communication by means of the telephone, electric railways and automobiles the villages of the West and the Middle West are being brought closer together, and more extensive communication is giving a chance for rivalries

¹ Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 18.

to spring up, as they have done in several instances under the writer's observation. In this respect Aton long dwelt apart and had practically no rivalry with any other village. At the time of the third crisis, however, Bton suddenly became Aton's rival. For near half a century Bton had not come into conflict with Aton, but now a hot contest arose. Bton, however, was in no way prepared to carry on a contest with a place four times its size. It could not offer the bonus and other inducements Aton did, and the rivalry was of short duration. The stimulation of coöperative activities and business enterprises was most wholesome in both places. Had Aton enjoyed such a rivalry for a few decades it is safe to say its history would have been quite different and the reactions of the population would now be more imitative, of a wider range and less habitual.

Again crises are infrequent and not severe in the rural village. Inasmuch as crises, if great enough and frequent enough, are most important causes of progress, it follows that the village has been lacking in one of the chief means of progress. In Aton but four crises have occurred in the course of half a century, with an interim of nearly forty years between the second and the third. This is indeed anything but a vicissitudinous history, and naturally few results could come from it.

Another factor, which, as is generally recognized, has had its bearing on the problem of progress in the rural village, is the fact that great numbers of young men and women leave it. This is especially true in the case of young men. There is little to hold the ambitious youth in the village. Moreover, the limited chances for employment at home often compel him to go elsewhere. The energy of the rural community is, as a consequence, continually absorbed by larger groups. In the case of

Aton this is demonstrable. The records of the High School Alumni furnished reliable data. The total number of graduates from the beginning in 1877 to 1910 is 299, of which 109 are males and 190 females. Of this number 70 per cent have left Aton. The percent of males is 76, while that of females is 60. The males graduating before 1901 show 84 per cent away, since then 69 per cent. The females graduating before 1901 show 65 per cent away and since then 54 per cent. The figures for the last decade would seem to indicate that an increasing number are remaining in the village, though the lapse of a little longer time would be necessary to correctly estimate this, and it is probable that the present decade would then show about the same percent as former years. The records of the Aton College Alumni show that only twenty-three individuals graduating from the academic department have remained in Aton, and but fourteen from the department of music. This is but six per cent of the five hundred and ninety graduates from the two departments of the institution. Those from other departments, of less significance in this relation, do not exceed fifteen in all. Aside from these sources there are no figures on which to base any exact calculation, but from general observation it seems certain that not far from as large a percent of the young men, outside the classes considered above, leave Aton. This constant exodus of the most vital element from which innovations are to be expected is significant in relation to progress in the rural village. While to be sure the offspring of a group tend strongly to adhere to the ways of their fathers, yet they are more responsive to stimuli, more capable of change, and will advance beyond the old in proportion to their intelligence.

The foregoing analysis of the situation as it relates to

Aton is generally the same with respect to rural villages of the Central States, as is proven by statistics for Indiana. Indeed, Aton fares better than the average village. In 1900 there were exactly one hundred villages in Indiana with a population of over 1,000 and under 3,000. In the decade from 1880 to 1890 eighty-two of them increased in population while eighteen decreased. In the next decade eighty-nine increased while eleven decreased. In like manner there were seventy-two villages in 1890 having a population within the limits indicated, and in the succeeding decade fifty-six of them increased while sixteen decreased. From this it is evident that up to about a decade ago rural villages were generally growing. In the decade just past the tide turned into a large decrease in population. Of the same hundred villages mentioned above fifty-two increased while forty-eight decreased in population. Of those increasing twenty-two gained 10 per cent or less, thirteen 20 per cent or less and seventeen over 20 per cent. Aton's gain was twenty-two per cent. This placed the town in the class of the most prosperous in the State in growth of population. It was asserted above that the chief source whence the rural village draws its people was from the adjacent farming region. This general observation is confirmed by the following facts. The one hundred townships, in which are located the places above considered, in the decade 1890 to 1900 lost in farm population in fifty-four instances and made slight gains in forty-six instances. In the succeeding decade, 1900 to 1910, they lost in farm population in ninety-six instances and gained in but four. These villages represent sixty-five counties in which, in the decade 1890 to 1900, the farm population decreased in forty-one cases and increased in twenty-four cases in a slight degree, while in the decade 1900 to 1910 there

was a decrease in sixty-four cases and an increase in but one. To be sure the general decrease in the birth-rate throughout America might entirely account for this decrease of farm population and the decrease or slight growth of rural villages, but as significant as this is there is more involved. That there is a decided movement from the farm to the village is a widely recognized fact; and thus it is that the rural villages are fed. It has already been shown that the village constantly gives off its population to larger aggregates. So it may be said that the city draws its nourishment from the most vital element, the young men and women, of the village communities, and they in turn draw their sustenance from the farms, and usually from the more prosperous and sbetter class of farmers. In other words the village lose its most progressive element and receives one in its stead inherently less progressive than the village-born people themselves.

In conclusion, it seems proper to say that progress is tardy or wanting in the average rural village of the Central States simply because it is so situated that few stimuli reach it, and because its composition and social atmosphere, as a consequence, is such that it fails to generate its own motive power. But let it be so located that spirited rivalry or competition with other places arises through group struggle for existence, advantage or supremacy, or let it be found on a route of travel where constant and extensive communication with the wider world goes on, or let there be an influx of people from a different social environment or of a different race, or let successive crises be frequently encountered, or let anything that disturbs and stimulates happen, and the village will cease to move in a circle and soon swing out into the tortuous path of progress. It will soon come

to the stage of development where its movements will be self-determined and no longer chiefly dependent on external forces. It will, of course, then cease to be a village in the real sense of that word. Such a stage has not yet been reached by Aton. Until that stage is reached it must remain a village, non-progressive, a conservator of political, religious, moral, and economic tradition, and above all a preserver of democracy. Unchanging in its choices along with many of its kind, it acts as a counterbalancing force to the larger and less stable aggregates in its reaction to the problems of American life.

The hope of Aton lies in one direction, and that is through the stimulation of new people which the lake resorts are bringing into contact with the community in rapidly increasing numbers year after year. These people, coming from cities for the most part, are bringing new ideas and customs that in time will grow to sufficient proportions to greatly influence the village. In the past five years many suggestions that have taken root in the community for its good, may be traced to this source. Inasmuch, however, as this element is only transient and does not enter extensively or vitally into the real life of the village its influence is limited and slow of operation. It is probable that its chief bearing will be upon the religion, morals and social democracy of the place. Nevertheless there are hints of disturbing forces from without, which, while insignificant now, may be premonitions of important internal changes to come.

VITA.

THE author of this dissertation was born December 3, 1878. He received the degree of A. B. from the Tri-State College of Indiana in 1901. In 1905 he graduated from the College of the Bible of Kentucky University, and was ordained to the Christian ministry. In the fall of 1905 he was installed as pastor of the Christian Church of Carthage, Missouri, resigning this position to enter Columbia University in 1908. During the years 1908-1909 and 1910-1912 he was a graduate student in Columbia University, and a student in Union Theological Seminary. As a student in Columbia he studied under Professors Giddings, Tenney, H. L. Moore, Chad-dock, Seager and Seligman, doing seminar work with Professors Giddings and Tenney. In Union Theological Seminary he studied especially under Professors A. C. McGiffert and G. W. Knox. He received the degree of A. M. from Columbia in 1910.





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